XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARIES

Early Western Travels

1748-1846

A Series of Annotated Reprints of some of the best
and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, de-
scriptive of the Aborigines and Social and
Economic Conditions in the Middle
and Far West, during the Period
of Early American Settlement

Edited with Notes, Introductions, Index, etc., by

Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," "Original
Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," "Hennepin's
New Discovery," etc.

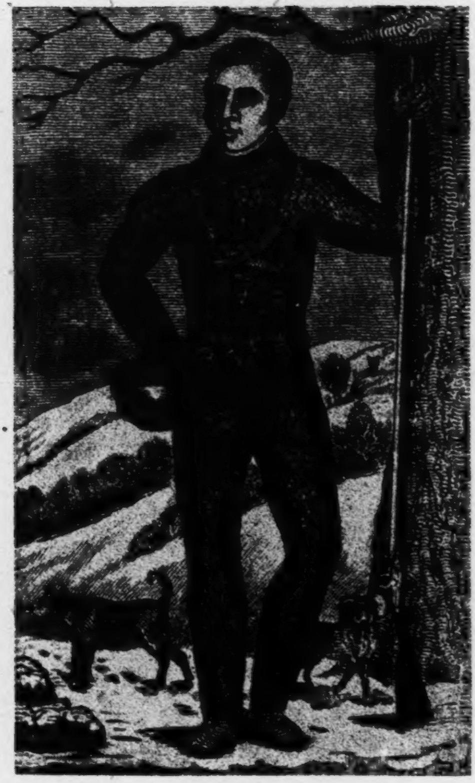
Volume VIII

Buttrick's Voyages, 1812-1819
Evans's Pedestrious Tour, 1818

Cleveland, Ohio
The Arthur H. Clark Company
1904

EVANS'S PEDESTRIOUS TOUR OF FOUR THOUSAND MILES — 1818

Reprint of the original edition: Concord, New Hampshire, 1819



A

PEDESTRIOUS TOUR,

OF

FOUR THOUSAND MILES,

THROUGH

THE WESTERN STATES AND TERRITORIES,

DURING

THE WINTER AND SPRING OF

1818.

INTERSPERSED

WITH BRIEF REFLECTIONS UPON A GREAT VARIETY OF TOPICS:

RELIGIOUS, MORAL, POLITICAL, SENTIMENTAL, &c. &c.

BY ESTWICK EVANS.

"The blast of the north is on the plain;—the traveller shrinks in the midst of his journey."

CONCORD: N. H.
PRINTED BY JOSEPH C. SPEAR.
1819.

DISTRICT OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE, TO WIT:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 10th day of December, 1818, and in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, ESTWICK EVANS, of the said District, has deposited in this Office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, TO WIT:

"A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand miles, through the western States and Territories, during the winter and spring of 1818; interspersed with brief reflections upon a great variety of topics: religious, moral, political, sentimental, &c. &c. By ESTWICK EVANS.

"The blast of the north is on the plain; the traveller shrinks in the midst of his journey."

In conformity to an act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned: and also to an act entitled "An Act supplementary to An Act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching Historical and other Prints.

PEYTON R. FREEMAN,
Clerk, of the District of New-Hampshire.

DISTRICT OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE, TO WIT:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 18th day of January, 1819, and in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, ESTWICK EVANS, of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, TO WIT:

"A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand miles, through the western States and Territories, during the winter and spring of 1818; interspersed with brief reflections upon a great variety of topics: religious, moral, political, sentimental, &c. &c. By ESTWICK EVANS.

"The blast of the north is on the plain; the traveller shrinks in the midst of his journey."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.

PEYTON R. FREEMAN,
Clerk, of the District of New-Hampshire.

A true copy of Record,
Attest, PEYTON R. FREEMAN, Clerk.

The author is sensible that there are some typographical and other errors in the following work; but as they will be found few *and* inconsiderable, *it is not deemed worth while to notice them.*

PREFACE

An author, however inconsiderable he may be, always feels that he has something to say to the public concerning his work; he must, therefore, have a preface. I think, however, that such a course is seldom necessary; the world, after all which the writer can express, will judge impartially of his motives, and of the execution of his plan. — My introduction will be very brief.

In justice to myself I ought to observe, that until after finishing my tour, I did not entertain the least idea of publishing an account of it; and that I have been induced to take this step by the request of many of my fellow-citizens.

It will be readily perceived, that a work of this kind does not admit of the display of much reasoning or erudition; and I shall speak as little of myself as will be consistent with the nature of the publication. This little volume cannot possibly merit much praise; and I trust that it will escape unqualified censure.

Portsmouth, N. H. 1818.

TOUR

THE supposed singularity of the tour, an account of which I am about to write, suggests a few preliminary observations.

Customs and manners often produce more influence than principle. Whilst the former are strictly adhered to, the latter is often violated. Here we see the comparative influence of self-reproach and the reproach of the world: a deviation from custom, in relation to modes of living and acting, may excite animadversion. We shrink from the unfriendly gaze of the multitude; and tremble even at the undeserved censure of the superficial and ill-natured: — at the same time we disregard the condemnation of our own hearts, and endeavour to cancel the obligations of morality by the good, yet false, opinion of the world.

But it is readily acknowledged, that unless excentricity ought always to be avoided; it invariably proceeds from error in taste, from uncontrouled feeling, or from mental imbecility. The dispositions and powers of men, however, are various; and the beaten track is not always the field for improvement.

Civil society is not without its disadvantages. Whilst it adds to the information, and polishes the manners of man, it lessens the vigour of his mind and the generosity of his heart. He no longer experiences the sublime inspirations of Nature. A creature of habit and the slave of form, she will not [6] deign to visit him. From the factitious grandeur of cities, she wings her eagle flight, to communicate to the uncontaminated children of her forests her instruction and blessing.

In the savage state there is, no doubt, much individual depravity; as great a degree of it, however, may be found in the most civilized communities. But in the latter are never witnessed that nobleness of spirit, that eloquence of thought, that force of expression, and that wonderful aspect which the former affords.

It is true, that the aggregate advantages of civil society are much greater than those of a state of nature; and how happy should we be if we could ingraft the instruction, and impress the polish of civilization upon the lofty virtues of untutored life. But, with us, courage gives place to cowardice; and the native disinterestedness of man, the source of his greatest virtues and highest happiness, yields to the calculations of meanness and fraud. Even in public life we please ourselves with the tinsel of narrow views, whilst we disregard those great principles of national policy which alone can render us truly great.

I have often been questioned as to the objects of my tour; and I am willing to gratify a reasonable and friendly curiosity. My views were various. Besides the ordinary advantages of travel, and of becoming acquainted with a country comparatively but little known, I wished to acquire the simplicity, native feelings, and virtues of savage life; to divest myself of the factitious habits, prejudices and imperfections of civilization; to become a citizen of the world; and to find, amidst the solitude and grandeur of the western wilds, more correct views of human nature and of the true interests of man. The season of snows was preferred, that I might experience the pleasure of suffering, and the novelty of danger. [7] On the second of February, 1818, I left the residence of my friends, in Hopkinton, New-Hampshire, prepared, according to the frontispiece, to meet the inclemency of the season, the hostilities either of man or beast, and also to provide myself, in the way of game, with provisions.

It may gratify some to know the particulars of my habiliament: Mine was a close dress consisting of buffalo skins. On my shoulders were epaulettes made of the long hair of the animal; and they were for the purpose of shielding the shoulder from rain. Around my neck and under one arm was strapped a double leather case, with brass chargers, for shot and ball; and under the other arm a case for powder strapped in the same way, and also having a brass charger. Around the waist was a belt, with a brace of pistols, a dirk, two side cases for pistol balls, and a case for moulds and screw. Also around the waist was buckled an Indian apron, which fell behind: it was about eighteen inches square, covered with fine bear skin, trimmed with fur, and having over the lower part of it a net for game. This apron contained a pocket-compass, maps, journal, shaving materials, a small hatchet, patent fire works, &c. My cap and gloves were made of fur, my moccasons were of deer-skin, and on my shoulder I carried a six-feet rifle. The partners of my toils and dangers were two faithful dogs.

In this situation I arrived at Detroit on the 20th of March. My dogs, however, were destroyed by wolves, on the night of the tenth of that month, in the vicinity of the Miami Swamp.

I had, in my juvenile days, voluntarily accustomed myself to fatigues, hardships, and privations of every kind; but not having recently exercised much, the snow being deep, and my dress and baggage heavy, my fatigue, in the early stages of my tour, [8] was excessive: My first day's travel was only eight miles. In a short time, however, my daily progress was from fifteen to twenty miles, through trackless snows and over tremendous mountains. The universal curiosity which my appearance excited was oppressive; but I had fortified my mind by reflection, and endeavoured to present to all an aspect at once grave and mild. In the course of my tour, I met, as might have been expected, a great variety of character; from the savage of the wood to the savage of civil life; and I sometimes found it necessary to appeal to my arms, for the defence of the privileges of the traveller and the rights of the man.

My title page promises reflections upon various subjects. I hope they will neither be too frequent nor too lengthy. The study of man, both as it respects the abstract principles of his nature and the almost infinite variety of modes in which these principles, through the influences of education and customs, develope themselves, should be one great object of the traveller. In order to become well acquainted with these principles, he must frequently and maturely examine his own heart. Here alone can he ascertain the secret springs of action; here alone can he define and classify the passions; and lastly, here alone can he find the means of their controul, or of giving to them a proper direction. Much information, in relation to this subject, may be collected from books, and much by travel; but he who is ignorant of his own heart must be ignorant of human nature.

In my way to the interior I passed through Amherst;[1] and reached this place towards evening, during a heavy fall of snow. I had been anticipating the pleasure of visiting the family of Judge C. who reside there; but the ladies of the family, supposing me to be an indian, barred the doors against me. I [9] soon, however, obtained a herald, and then the castle gates were elegantly thrown open. On account of this little adventure, which arose principally from the lateness of the afternoon and from my being covered with snow, some captious scribblers took the liberty, in the papers of the day, to be impudent. Could I condescend to be offended with them, I should here tender my forgiveness.

---

[1] Amherst, on the Souhegan River, twenty-eight miles south of Concord, is situated on the tract of land granted by the general court of Massachusetts (1733), to the families of soldiers who had served in King Philip's War (1674-76). It was incorporated in 1760, and named in honor of Lord Jeffrey Amherst, at that time commander general in America.— Ed.

For the above anecdote I am indebted, principally, to the interesting Miss L*******, whose vivid imagination, aided by the story of the giants, magically converted her habitation into an embattled tower, and gave to a harmless knight a consequence which he did not deserve.

Amherst is a considerable inland town. The plain upon which the village is situated is very spacious; and some of its buildings are large and elegant.

From this place I proceeded to Milford,[3] the residence of my friend P. whose love of principle, independence of character, and talents, entitle him to much consideration. With him I passed some pleasant hours. The appearance of this town is pleasant. The contrast between its extensive intervales, and the rise of ground upon which its bridge, manufactories, and village are situated, renders its aspect quite interesting.

The distance between Amherst and Milford is only a few miles; but in travelling from the former to the latter I found the snow deep and stiffened by rain, and the road trackless.

The next day I began to ascend the mountains of New-Hampshire:— my native hills!— Oh, may they be the everlasting abode of Liberty! The weather here was variable, the snow in some drifts ten feet deep, my fatigue extreme, and my health impaired. The towns of Milton and Temple,[3] [10] situated in this part of the country, are pleasant; and the scenery about them highly picturesque. Several branches of the Sowhegan in the former, and the streams which pass into this river from the westerly part of the latter, add much to the variety and beauty of the prospect.

---

[3] Milford is on the Souhegan, five miles southwest of Amherst. It is located partly on the Amherst Grant, partly on the Duxbury School Farm (land granted to Duxbury by the general court of Massachusetts to aid in establishing schools). Settlement was begun about 1750, and the town was incorporated in January, 1794.— ED.

The next evening I found myself in Marlborough. The weather had become severe, and my ability to travel without fatigue was increasing. The mountainous aspect of the country, the front of my cap, &c. whitened by frost, and the creaking of the snow beneath my step, reminded me of Wallace and Tell; those champions of freedom, whose physical nature was as rugged as the rocks which they inhabited, and whose hearts, at the same time, could glow with generosity, or soften with compassion. The Grand Monadnock here attracted particular attention. It is more than two thousand feet in height, and is remarkable for its cave and its fossils. Peterborough and Dublin, the towns between Temple and Marlborough, are interestingly situated. The former is very mountainous, and its numerous brooks render it a fine grazing township. A principal branch of the Contoocook passes near the centre of the town, and here unites with Goose river flowing from Dublin. The latter place is exceedingly well watered, and its two villages, together with some scattered houses, make a pleasant appearance.

The coldness of the weather continued to increase. I passed on through Keene[4] and Chesterfield. The appearance of the former excited much interest. It is almost an inland city; and promises to make a very conspicuous figure. It is also, evidently, a place of much business; and from the appearance of some of its buildings, together with what little knowledge I possess of its society, I should suppose [11] it a place of considerable polish and refinement. Chesterfield too is a very pretty town. The undulatory aspect of its hills, the quiet of its vales, and the neatness of its village made a very pleasant impression upon my mind.

---

[3] Milton is a misprint for Wilton, a town on the Souhegan, nine miles west of Amherst.

Temple is three miles west of Wilton.— Ed.

[4] Keene, fifty-five miles southwest of Concord, has become one of the most important manufacturing cities in New Hampshire. It was first settled in 1734; but Indian attacks becoming frequent, was abandoned from 1747 to 1753.

Marlborough, five miles southeast of Keene, is part of a grant made by Massachusetts (1751), to Timothy Dwight and sixty-one associates.— Ed.

Soon after leaving Keene I passed over high and steep hills. Some of them were, apparently, several miles in length. In one of the vallies of these mountains an amusing incident occurred. It is a trifle, and may be thought not worth mentioning; I feel a pleasure, however, in doing justice to good nature: I met three six feet fellows in a single sleigh. They were, probably, going to Keene in their *best*. There had fallen, the night before, a light snow of a few inches; and their horse, not fancying my appearance, took it into his head, notwithstanding I gave him the whole road, to sheer against the wall, and to turn all these well-looking grenadiers into the snow. I was preparing to make an apology; but it was unnecessary: the good nature of these liberal men furnished for them and myself a hearty laugh.

During the following day I passed Connecticut river; and entering Brattleborough, Vermont, proceeded to the further part of the adjoining town.[6] The appearance of the country just before my crossing the Connecticut, was truly interesting. My course was around a mountain about half way between its summit and the river below.

---

[6] Fort Dummer was erected on the present site of Brattleborough as early as 1724. The land in that region was granted by George II (1753) to certain men of Massachusetts, among them William Brattle, after whom the town was named.— ED.

It was the sabbath day; and the mildness of the christian religion seemed to breathe around. The rays of the sun, with a kind of vivid obscurity, darted through the wood; and the solemn, yet cheerful, gospel bell of a neighbouring villa spake of the pure and peaceful communion of saints. Even the game seemed to know it was the sabbath, and did not shun my path. Perhaps it was wrong in me thus to travel. I had [12] never done so before. My situation, however, was peculiar, and I endeavored to confine my thoughts to the appropriate views of this holy season.

I am now upon the borders of my own peculiar country. A single step carries me from New Hampshire; and when I shall again behold her pleasant hills is uncertain — Perhaps never!

The term banishment is, in this part of the world, seldom employed; and its introduction here may appear unmeaning. But those who have been exiled by their country, by misfortune, or by themselves, will hear the word with a glow of interest, and find, in their own hearts, its true and ready definition. Is there no exile beyond the limits of our land?— no spirit which sighs for the scenes of childhood? — where the light of Heaven was first beheld, and the impression of thought first created? — where friendship first warmed, and love etherialized, and patriotism fired? Oh! if prayer is heard on High, it must be the exile's prayer.

The tears of patriotism need no apology. The name of New-Hampshire is identified with that of freedom. Her mountains were never intended for slavery; and tyrants, I know, could not exist in the presence of her people. Were she just to herself, she would always excite fear in her enemies and admiration in her friends. Her institutions are dictated by the spirit of self-government, and her will is the supreme law of the land. Her citizens are hardy, intelligent and virtuous; her climate is salubrious and her soil fertile; her hills are covered with cattle, and her vallies wave with grain. Industry, economy, and mechanical genius are conspicuous characteristics of her people; and a thousand streams, intersecting the whole country, tender to the manufacturing interest their powerful agencies. In point of hospitality too she [13] is second to none; and the virtue, benevolence, and beauty of her daughters are, at once, the inspiration and the reward of valour.

Within a few years I have visited nearly all the states and territories of United America. I have noticed their respective moral and physical character, and have viewed them in relation to the ordinary causes of the rise and fall of nations. Should the freedom of this country ever perish, one of her last intrenchments will be in the mountains of New-Hampshire. Her citizens, however, must, by adhering to her constitution, and by proper systems of education, preserve in their minds a knowledge of the first principles of civil liberty, a due sense of the importance of morality, and a lively interest in the transactions of the Revolution. The whole history of that great event should, with us, constitute an indispensable part of education. But in speaking much of its battles, we must think more of its principles. The latter were so perfectly correct; and the manner of acting upon them was so candid, so humane, so firm, so steady, and so persevering, that no political event, since the creation of man, merits half so much admiration as the achievement of our independence.

Before leaving New-Hampshire I may say a word respecting Connecticut river. It is one of the most pleasant and useful rivers in the world. It generally preserves a distance of from eighty to one hundred miles from the ocean, and meanders through a very fertile country to the distance of more than three hundred miles. It waters New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and at length passes into Long-Island Sound.

I am now in Vermont.[6] This is a noble state, and may well be termed the peculiar sister of New-Hampshire. The same mountainous and fertile [14] country; the same moral and physical energies characterize them both. Should their liberties ever be assailed, they will sympathetically unite their efforts, and triumph or fall together. In both of these states I met with Revolutionary men, and they were still the champions of liberty. The tranquil charms of rural avocations had preserved the purity and peace of their bosoms; whilst the grandeur of their mountains, and the rudeness of their storms had continually reminded them of the blasts of tyranny, and of the unconquerable spirit of freedom.

In both of these states I experienced unlimited hospitality and kindness. Money could not have purchased so rich a boon. Amidst their lofty hills, covered with deep snows and assailed by piercing winds, I found the humble cottager; and in the benevolence of his aspect, and the hospitality of his board, I seemed to hear the chorus in Gustavus Vasa: —[7]

"Stranger, cease through storms to roam;
Welcome to the cotter's home;
Though no courtly pomp be here,
Yet, my welcome is sincere."

---

[6] From Brattleborough to Albany, Evans followed a much travelled route. As early as 1774, a road had been made from Albany to Bennington, thence directly east for forty miles to Brattleborough. A line of stages was established in 1814, which made the trip between the two places in one day. It was considered the easiest and safest route to Boston.— Ed.

[7] A play written by Henry Brooke (1706-83), containing reflections on the Prime Minister (Robert Walpole). It was not allowed to be put on the stage in 1739, but later was printed by the author, the Prince of Wales subscribing for four hundred copies. Dr. Johnson vindicated it and scored the government for attempting its suppression.— Ed.

In some parts of these states one may travel many miles without meeting a habitation; and during deep snows and severe weather there is no little danger of perishing.

In passing the Green Mountains, I experienced a very narrow escape. The weather was remarkably severe, and scarcely any one thought travelling practicable. The wind being high the snow was whirled in every direction, and the road was trackless. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon I passed a house, and, imprudently, omitted to inquire as to the distance to the next dwelling. Fortunately, [15] however, I met, after travelling three miles, an express from a neighbouring village; and he informed me that the next habitation was at the distance of two miles. To this circumstance I owe, probably, the preservation of my life.

About dark I arose a steep hill, and found myself in an open and uncovered situation. The weather was intensely cold, and the wind very high. I realized that owing to the depth of the snow, the consequent difficulty of obtaining fuel, and the probable chill which I should experience after ceasing to travel, that the wood, from which I had just emerged, could not afford me sufficient shelter. I should, however, have resorted to its partial protection in preference to exposing myself to an unsheltered opening, had I not fully presumed, from the information above noticed, that a habitation was near. There was not a moment for indecision. I marked a central course, redoubled my efforts, and in a half hour reached a comfortable hut. Here, upon taking off my cap, I found my ears frozen to an almost incredible degree.

It is high time for me to acknowledge some obligations, which have a particular claim to my gratitude, not only as it respects these stages of my tour, but throughout the whole of that part of it which was enlivened by civilization.

Benevolence and kindness are peculiar characteristics of the female heart. The mildness of her nature comports with the delicacy of her appearance; and well may Charity always be represented in feminine apparel. During my tour, the hospitality of the husband was always more than seconded by that of the wife and daughter.

Such are my respect for, and admiration of the female character; so high an opinion do I entertain both of her understanding and heart; and so narrow [16] are the views of many, even in this enlightened age, in relation to these particulars, that I may be permitted, in this little work, to become her advocate. A thousand arguments in her behalf challenge my attention; but I must not transgress the proper limits of incidental remark.

The influence of woman, in civilized life, has not yet reached its acme. The effects of her ancient condition are not entirely removed. Hereditary ignorance and oppression still partially obstruct her intellectual progress. She has, in times past, not only had to contend with an almost entire seclusion from the world, where alone theoretical and practical knowledge are blended for the improvement of the human mind, but the other sex, unconscious of moral force and influenced only by a sense of physical strength, have, in various parts of the globe, treated her as an inferior. Oh, wretched pride!— oh, disgraceful ignorance!— oh, vulgar barbarity!— the Dove of Paphos is oppressed by the Egyptian Vulture.

Even in Greece and Rome the state of woman, to speak generally, was degrading. She was suffered to share but little in the general intercourse of life; and Metellus Numidicus, in an oration to the people of Rome, speaks of her with contempt. Yet some exultingly inquire,— where are your female philosophers and poets of antiquity?

Greece and Rome were the principal theatres of ancient literature. Had the men of those times and countries been treated as the females were, we should have looked in vain for those galaxys of genius and erudition, which are the constant theme of the modern world. Had this been the case the Peripatetic Philosopher would not have written, the Mantuan Bard would not have sung. Yet, even here, Corinna was the instructress of Pindar, and in competition [17] with him obtained the prize. Mamaea too was so distinguished for wisdom, that the worthy and renowned Ulpian thought it an honor to be appointed one of her counsellors. Other cases might be introduced; but this topic is leading me too far from my main subject. One example more, however, shall be mentioned. The mighty genius of Zenobia rose above the indolence incident to the climate and manners of Asia. Her administration was guided by the most judicious maxims. She was too a linguist and historian, and expatiated upon the beauties of Homer and Plato, with the learned and eloquent Longinus.

Perhaps I may venture a little further. The peculiar sphere of the understanding is mathematics; and because there have not been great mathematicians among the female sex, she, to be sure, is to be deprived of her proper station in the department of intelligence.

Would men have been mathematicians if their education had been like that of woman? Surely not. Why then should woman, whose sphere is foreign to this pursuit, be represented as incapable of successfully engaging in it? Besides, many men of the first genius, and of the most vigorous intellect, have entertained an aversion to mathematics amounting to an incapacity to attend to them with success. The learned Gibbon declares that he entirely lost those seasons in which he was obliged to prosecute this branch of study; and Gray, in his time the first scholar in

Europe, asserts that if mathematics would insure him wealth and fame, he would relinquish its advantages for the charms of general literature.

There is a diversity of taste among mankind; and the same privilege of enjoying it without censure should be granted to both sexes. The great mathematician Archimedes had but little inclination [18] for any other branch of learning than geometry; and Gray could not endure metaphysics.

There is also a diversity of talents among both sexes. The logical, learned, and eloquent Cicero failed in his attempts in poetry. How unreasonable would it be to consider him inferior to our great female poets on this account! and, of course, how unfair to deny strength of intellect to woman, because she is not conspicuous for her knowledge of mathematics!

A sense of propriety, relative to this digression, constrains me to conclude. In what respect, I ask, is woman inferior to the other sex? Heroism is a test of intellectual vigour; and woman has evinced superlative bravery, by a sudden transition from the gentle avocations of domestic life to the battle's rage. An enlightened fortitude also argues strength of intellect. Here let men admire what they can never imitate: how much physical suffering, and how much anguish of spirit are peculiar to the female character! yet, resignation and hope are the cherub companions of her tribulation.

Modern times are throwing wonderful light upon this subject; and are developing those astonishing combinations of female sentiment and genius, which in past ages scintilated through the gloom of barbarism. A splendid list of names illustrative of this position might be here introduced; but the whole list would be too long, and a selection would be difficult. Sentiment is emphatically the highest sphere of genius; and it is the sphere where the heart becomes the great magician of intellectual life. Men are indebted to woman for what they possess of this principle; and until she made them acquainted with it they were barbarians.

Wherever I stopped, in my course through the settled parts of the country, I was much pleased [19] with the interest which my appearance excited in little children. There was a conflict exhibited in their countenances between the fears implanted by domestic education, and the native fondness of man for the hunter state. By my assuming, however, the aspect and the smile of civilization, they would come to my arms of fur, and listen attentively to the simple stories of the chase. Afterwards, they would reward my kindness to them by more solid attentions to my dogs.

In travelling from Connecticut River to Bennington, I passed through a part of Marlborough, Wilmington, Reedsbury, Stanford, and Woodford. Whilst in the latter place the weather was severe beyond a parallel. When, however, in Brattleborough, which lies immediately upon the river, the weather was much more moderate.

Whilst upon the Green Mountains my thoughts were particularly directed to the days of the Revolution, when, in the language of a British Chief, the sons of New-Hampshire and Vermont hung like a cloud upon his left. Here too I remembered that thunderbolt of war, the veteran Stark, in whose heart dwelt the very genius of his country, and who discomfited her enemies by the strength of his native hills.

On these mountains my attention was attracted by the appearance of a thick fall of snow during a clear sunshine. This appearance is not common here; and proceeds, I presume, from the little influence which the sun produces upon the state of the atmosphere in this situation. On the west side of these mountains the snow was not so deep as on the east side; and I apprehend that this is usually the case.

Within about two miles beyond this lofty ridge, Bennington is situated.[8] This town presents an ancient [20] aspect, and appears unflourishing; it is situated, however, upon a fertile tract of country, and contains several handsome buildings. The number of its houses is perhaps two hundred. Mount Anthony, in the south part of the town, makes a pleasant appearance; and the town itself is rendered interesting by the two famous battles, fought a little west of it, on the 16th of August, 1777. In these battles the celebrated General Stark acquired imperishable fame. Owing to the severity of the weather I did not visit the noted cave of Mount Anthony.

From Bennington I proceeded through Hoosuck, Pittstown, Troy, and Albany. From the former to the latter place, the distance is about thirty-five miles.

In passing through Pittstown the weather was still severe; and night having overtaken me before I could reach a public house, I was under the necessity of lodging in a log hut. The family were very poor; but the wealth of Kings could not purchase their virtues. As is the case with many other honest people, they had experienced a series of misfortunes which ultimately reduced them to penury. Two years before the period of my seeing them, their mills, the principal part of their property, had been carried away by a freshet; and a year after this event, their dwelling was consumed, with all its contents. Yet these good people were cheerful, and their poverty sat gracefully upon them. They were unable to furnish me with a bed, a comfort with which I had learned to dispense, but very readily shared with me their last loaf. For their services they charged nothing; and it was with difficulty that I persuaded them to take compensation.

---

[8] Bennington was the first township granted within the present state of Vermont, being chartered by Benning Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire, in 1749. Settlement was not begun, however, until the fall of 1761.— Ed.

The blessings of poverty are neither few nor small. It attaches an extraordinary interest to the most common acquisitions; and, when there is little [21] or no apprehension of want, it furnishes a constant source of pleasing anticipation. Under such circumstances, parents and children experience their happiest moments. Mutual love, and mutual gratulation, here heighten and sanctify every expression of the care and bounty of Providence.—There is something in virtuous poverty, which speaks of treasures laid up in Heaven.

In entering Troy I left Lansingburgh on my right. The former place is exceedingly compact and flourishing, and extends between one and two miles on the east bank of the Hudson. On the other side of the river, at the distance of six miles, Albany is situated.

This city, in relation to the state, ranks next to that of New-York; but its appearance is far from being elegant. The streets are generally narrow and crooked; and its numerous buildings in the Gothic style give to it an ancient and unpolished aspect. It is, evidently, however, a place of great trade; and must, in the nature of things, rapidly increase in wealth and population. The back country is extensive and fertile; and the public spirit of the state of New-York is affording every facility to the inland transportation of its produce.

The variety of people in Albany is great. The Dutch here still make a considerable figure; but the Americans are more numerous. This place has received many names. Its scite was originally called Aurania; and the town itself was afterwards named Beverwych, Fort Orange, Williamstadt, and, upon its capitulation to the English in 1664, it received its present appellation. This city, next to Jamestown, in Virginia, is the oldest in the United States.

This place contains many large public buildings, among which is the city-hall, hospital, armoury, [22] &c. There are here also some elegant dwelling houses; but I should not suppose the city, from its appearance, the residence of much taste or erudition. It contains, however, what some may consider an equivalent:— many families of wealth and fashion. The population of the place is about twelve thousand.

After leaving Albany I shaped my course for Niagara Falls by the way of Cherry Valley. From the city there are two roads; the left hand one leading to the last mentioned place, and the right hand one to Schenectady. The great Western Turnpike extends from Schenectady, lying on the south bank of the Mohawk, and sixteen miles from Albany, to Buffalo, a distance of about three hundred miles. The two roads above mentioned intersect about one hundred and twenty miles from Albany.[9] Upon both of them are many flourishing villages; and the produce which is conveyed from the interior to Albany, Troy, and other places in the state, is immense.

The state of New-York is very conspicuous for her public spirit. She is affording every facility, within the grasp of her mighty genius and resources, to her inland commerce. In arts, and arms, and internal improvement, she is already a Rome in miniature; and her grand Canal will vie with those of China and the Russian Empire.

---

[9] The Great Western Turnpike did not pass through Schenectady, but was the one that led to Cherry Valley, while the Schenectady road connected with the state road, which extended to Buffalo. Strictly speaking, the two roads did not meet but ran nearly parallel to Lake Erie; however, a turnpike leading from Cherry Valley to Saline (Syracuse), intersected the state road at about the distance stated. Evans took this path. For the Great Western and State roads, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, notes 2 and 12.— ED.

In travelling over a part of the great western turnpike; and in collecting information as to the settlements and business both here and on the Mohawk, I was led to make some statistical calculations, the general result of which, together with some additional reflections, I transcribe from my journal.

The state of New York is, of itself, a mighty republic. Her moral and physical energies; her agriculture, [23] manufactures, and commerce; and her individual enterprise and public spirit, render her omnipotent. She could contend alone and unassisted with Great Britain. What then is the aggregate force of all our states and territories? The contemplation of their potential, and even probable physical power, within a short succession of years, presents such a manifold ratio as to overwhelm the boldest calculator.

But the moral energies of the country will, no doubt, become proportionably less. The friends of political virtue, however, must not be discouraged. The moral hero can do much towards stemming the torrent of political corruption. Besides, the vast surface over which the elements of this corruption will spread themselves, will render it, for a long course of time, comparatively harmless; and beyond this period, the influence of some Heavenly star may give to ambition and the love of power a purer spirit and a nobler aim.

In relation to this topic, the prevailing spirit of emigration, from the maritime to the inland frontier, will have a very beneficial influence. In a public point of view, great and permanent advantages will arise from the settlement of our western states and territories. But individuals from the east are not always benefitted by a removal. The principal advantages arising from such a step, are the profits on the purchase of new lands, and better crops obtained with less labour. The disadvantages are numerous. Those who can, by their industry, live well at home, will act wisely in remaining where they are. By a removal they lose a climate to which they are accustomed, good society, an opportunity to educate their children, and scenes to which their hearts will often fondly turn — The sons of New-Hampshire never forget her mountains!

[24] I shall speak more fully upon the subject of emigration in another place.

I may here introduce some facts relative to the grand canal in the State of New York.[10] The object of this great undertaking is to facilitate the inland commerce of the State, by uniting the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson. The former are much higher than the latter; but still the labour and expence necessary to complete the undertaking, will prove to be immense. To the State of New-York, however, such a work scarcely requires an effort. Her almost inexhaustible resources, directed by the genius and energy of her Clinton, could accomplish a hundred times as much. The Canal passes in the direction of Genessee river, and Seneca and Cayuga lakes; and will turn much of the trade of the west from Montreal to the city of New-York.

Soon after leaving Albany I met with Colonel P. formerly an officer under General Wayne, during his famous expedition against the indians.[11] From this gentleman I obtained many interesting facts; and spent a pleasant evening in conversing with him upon the subject of expatriation. This subject involves an abstract question of principle; and should be settled by the United States without the least reference to the opinion of civilians, or the practice of other nations. It is humiliating to see with what reverence we turn in relation to this subject, to the opinion of Blackstone, and to the contradictory positions of the British Government. The United States is the place, above all others, for correct opinions, upon questions involved in the great science of morals, as far as it respects the natural rights of individuals, the necessary modification of those rights in civil society, and the rights of nations as collective moral agents. Europe ever has been, [25] and still is a school of wrong; and those who are instructed by her participate in the sophistry of her reasoning, the tyranny of her views, and the inconsistency of her practice. The question of expatriation, is a question involving individual right, for the defence of which the aggregate strength of the whole community is guaranteed. This question, in the United States, arises from the claims of other nations to those of their subjects, who have left the territory to which they belonged without violating any municipal law upon the subject. The United States should protect all within her jurisdiction, whether upon her territory or under her flag, unless some municipal regulation of the adverse party in the question, shall have rendered the individual concerned incapable of acquiring the right to protection from the defending power. These principles should be adhered to for three reasons: the United States have a right to do so; they are bound by the civil compact, which renders protection and obedience inseparable, to do so; and it is their duty as a collective moral being to guard any individual, not under the jurisdiction of another sovereignty, from arbitrary power.

---

[10] For a brief account of the Erie Canal, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, note 37.— Ed.

[11] Wayne's campaign, 1793-94, terminated in victory at the decisive battle of Fallen Timbers (August 20, 1794), where the confederated Indians under Little Turtle were completely routed.— Ed.

Such a course is dictated by the eternal and omnipotent principles of justice; and therefore no law of nations, which is a rule created or supposed by man, can resist them. Even that law which civilians call the voluntary law of nations, cannot, in relation to this subject, exonerate a government from those obligations which result from the social compact; because the question is grounded in the very germ of civil society; and the welfare of the whole community of nations, so far from requiring in this case an adherence to this law, renders it, upon its own principles, entirely inoperative.

[26] The internal law of nations does not militate with the above principles, because it requires only what is fair and conscientious. The customary law of nations must yield to those older and better rules which are dictated by justice. And as to the conventional law of nations, it rests upon the terms of contracts in subordination to previously existing and indispensable duties.

On the 12th of February I passed through Guelderland, Princeton, Schoharie, and Carlisle; and on the following day through Sharon, Cherry Valley, and Warren.[13] Schoharie is one of the wealthiest inland farming towns in the state of N. York.

The weather still continued remarkably severe; but my dress was so comfortable, that I had no occasion for a fire.

---

[13] Evans was now passing through the settlements of the Schoharie and upper Susquehanna valleys. They had constituted the western frontier of New York in the period of the Revolutionary War, and in consequence had borne the brunt of the Iroquois and Loyalist attacks under the leadership of Joseph Brant. The Susquehanna Valley was virtually reconverted into a wilderness, the most important single attack being the Cherry Valley massacre, November 11, 1778. The first settlers had been chiefly Palatine Germans and Scotch-Irish; those that repeopled the country after the war were almost entirely from New England. See Halsey, *Old New York Frontier* (New York, 1901).— ED.

During my whole tour through the settled parts of the country, I found a constant source of amusement in the curiosity and variety of observation, which my appearance excited. I must, however, confess that I often wished myself less conspicuous.

It is in the moment of surprise that the human character most fully developes itself; and in travelling, during the constant operation of this cause, one may acquire much knowledge of the almost infinite variety of disposition which exists among mankind. I met, in my course, with every shade of character, from the man of reading to the totally ignorant; and from the real gentleman to the rude and vulgar.

It may amuse a portion of my readers to know some of the various impressions which were made by my appearance, and the receptions which I experienced.

People seldom knew from whence I came, or what was my place of destination; and surprise and speculation were universal. Speculation was as various [27] as the dispositions and capacities of individuals.—Some honoured me with the idea that I was Bonaparte in disguise; and some secretly suggested that I was a Wizard:—

> "Who prowl'd the country far and near,
> Bewitch'd the children of the peasants,
> Dry'd up the cows, and lam'd the deer,
> And suck'd the eggs, and kill'd the pheasants."

Some too, imagined me an Icelander; and some a British Spy. A few treated me with rudeness, many in a very gentlemanly manner, and some, not knowing what to make of my appearance, conferred upon me the title of General, and invited me to drink with them.

With respect to the first class, I made a point of taking no notice of them, when I could with propriety avoid it; but when I could not, I always made an example of them upon the spot. Such men seldom possess even animal courage; and there are very few, even of their associates, who are not pleased to see them punished.

I may here observe, that I was impressed by the general ignorance, with respect to the manners and customs of other nations, which appeared to exist in the civilized places through which I passed; and especially in and about Albany.

It is well known, that in Russia and many other countries in the north of Europe, people generally dress, more or less, in furs; and there are some instances of such a practice, even in the Canadas.— These facts, connected with the severity of the weather which prevailed during the early stages of my tour, might, one would think, have rendered a suit of fur a less general object of surprise. Severe as our winters are, I think a garment or two of Buffalo or some other warm skin, to be worn occasionally, [28] would, to say nothing of comfort, save many a man from rheumatism, and even from being frozen to death. It is only a year or two, since the stage driver from Albany to Bennington, froze and fell from his seat. The passengers were not apprized of the event, until the horses had proceeded several miles. The power of frost upon human life is astonishing. In an unsuspecting moment the blood chills in the veins and ceases to move. The memorable winter of 1709 saw two thousand men, under the celebrated Charles the XIIth, fall dead with cold in one day.

Many other similar instances might be mentioned. As to Charles, however, he had, by habit, rendered himself almost superhuman. His person was as invulnerable to the frosts of Denieper, as was his mind to the misfortunes which finally made him a prisoner at Bender.[13]

---

[13] A fortified town on the Dniester in Bessarabia, Russia, where Charles XII took refuge after the battle of Poltowa.— Ed.

On the evening of the 14th of February I had passed Otsego, Richfield, &c. and arrived at Plainfield. The towns between Albany and the last mentioned place are generally inconsiderable, and offer no interesting materials. They are, however, flourishing villages. During the whole of the 14th instant it snowed, and the travelling was very heavy. The general aspect of this part of the country is rather level than otherwise; there are here, however, many high and long hills. I had not yet ceased to be vulnerable to fatigue; but hardships had, in a measure, become familiar to me. I do not pretend that I did not sometimes stand in need of resolution; but men have only to move on, and difficulties become less. It is in looking ahead at the aggregate obstacles which present themselves in an undertaking, and in embodying them, as it were, in the space of a moment, that one's mind is appalled. By meeting these obstacles in detail, we easily overcome [29] them; and then look back astonished at our apprehensions.

The Dutch mode of building, both with respect to their houses and barns, is visible in every part of the state of New-York; but American manners and customs are here absorbing all others.

The interior of this state, like that of New-Hampshire and Vermont, presents many small and ill contrived log huts; and those who have been unaccustomed to seeing such, would be surprised to find how comfortably people may live in them. These huts are sometimes without a floor, and have wooden chimnies. Men who are acquainted only with polished life, would tremble at the idea of spending their days in one of these buildings; yet, they are generally the abode of virtue, health and happiness.

On the 15th and 16th of February I passed through Eaton, Nelson, Casnove, Pompey and Manlius. The weather was very severe, the snow deep, and continually blowing. At Pompey I was so beset by ignorant impertinence and loquacious curiosity, that I found it necessary to harrangue the multitude. Having laid down for them some salutary rules upon the subject of manners, and taking their silence for an apology, I proceeded to Manlius.

Even in this part of the country, bears, wolves, and deer are numerous. During the preceding fall the depredations of the two former were very great; and the bounty offered for wolves, by some of the counties in the state, was ninety dollars.

During the 17th the weather was still severe and the wind high. I passed Onondago [14] and Marcellus. Throughout these townships there are high and low hills. Owing to them, and to the depth of snow, my fatigue was great. My health also had suffered by many days and nights of severe tooth ache. In [30] passing through these and many other places, I experienced attentions from people of consideration; and was frequently introduced to their families.

Onondago was formerly the chief town of the Six Nations; and lies on the south of the lake of that name. This lake is sometimes called salt lake; and the springs near its shores produce immense quantities of salt. The Onondago Indians reside near this lake; but their numbers are diminishing.

During the 18th, 19th and 20th of February I travelled through Brutus, Aurelius, Auburn, Cayuga, Junius, and Waterloo.[15] The weather in this part of the country had been for several days, and still was colder than had been before known there. The snow likewise was remarkably deep. Cayuga Lake is about forty miles in length, and from two to four miles broad. The famous bridge across it is more than one mile in length. On the banks of this lake the Cayuga Indians reside.

---

[14] At Onondaga village was formerly located the council house of the Six Nations. In the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1788) this village was retained as a reservation; but ten years later a large part of it was sold to the state, and the town of Onondaga was incorporated thereon.— Ed.

[15] Evans was now in the military district. The legislature (1789) had set aside 1,680,000 acres as bounty land for the soldiers of the Revolutionary War.

The Six Nations of Indians above mentioned are the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Senecas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras. The Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians now live with the united tribes.[18] Notwithstanding these, and many other tribes are still in possession of vast tracts of land, and receive annually considerable sums from the United States, and also from individual states, they are occasionally emigrating to the wildernesses of Canada. Still wild and untameable, the surrounding aspect of civilization alarms them; and they silence the suggestions of jealousy by removing to pathless and illimitable forests.

Many of the villages on the Western Turnpike have made their appearance within a very few years; and the vast resources of the interior of the state of New-York are daily developing.

[31] During this part of my tour a little incident occurred,

The tract extended from the eastern border of Onondaga County to Seneca Lake, and was surveyed into twenty-eight townships, upon which the governor bestowed classical names.— Ed.

[18] The Housatonic Indians who had formed a mission settlement at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, were granted a township by the Oneida — the present New Stockbridge, Madison County. Thither, immediately after the Revolutionary War, they removed to the number of about four hundred. The Brothertown Indians had preceded them. In 1774 the Oneida had given to the remnant of Narragansetts, Pequots, and other tribes living for the most part at Montville and Farmington, Connecticut, a piece of land fourteen miles south of the present Utica. They emigrated with their pastor and organized a new tribe, the Brothertown Indians. Both tribes later removed to Wisconsin, the Stockbridge Indians settling at South Kaukauna on Fox River (1822-29), and the Brothertown Indians on the east side of Lake Winnebago a few years later. See Davidson, *In Unnamed Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1895).— Ed.

which resulted so pleasantly, and so fully evinced the policy as well as propriety of a certain course of conduct, that I am induced to mention it. In one of the last named towns, I was, whilst at a public house, furiously assailed by words and threats, by a man, who evidently had been of considerable consideration in society, but who had become a sot, and was at this time much intoxicated. As he was not in a situation to defend himself, there could have been no display of true courage in punishing him; and besides, he was already an object of pity. To his imbecile fury, therefore, I presented only a steady eye. He drew back. In a few minutes, however, he made another assault; and again yielded to a firm and silent aspect. A few hours after I met him in another place. His inebriety had, in a great measure, left him; he was very sorry for his conduct, and expressed towards me much good will.

I have observed, that I was seldom known; and as I appeared to be a person travelling in disguise, some pains were taken to ascertain who I was. The suggestions respecting me were very numerous; and a great many bets were made, and many expedients resorted to in relation to my origin, destination, and business. Some imagined me to be upon a secret expedition for the government. My manners seldom comporting with my mode of living, the multitude were at a loss to know to what class in society I belonged. They heard me converse like other people; but seldom saw me eat or drink, and were surprised to view me sleeping with my dogs upon the bare floor.

In my course through the upper part of the state of New-York, I spent many a pleasant evening, surrounded by a great variety of character, and seated [32] by a huge western fire. During these seasons some political question would often arise, and it was interesting to witness the debates. Upon one occasion a serious legal question, long agitated in the neighbourhood, was introduced; and being a limb of the law, I involuntarily made an observation upon it. Bets soon began to run high, and the Pedestrian was appointed umpire.

It is unpleasant for one to speak of himself.—Many anecdotes, which would be interesting to my friends, must be omitted.

In the course of a few days after leaving Waterloo, I passed through many towns, the principal of which are Romulus, Ovid, Hector, Ulysses, and Geneva; also Canandaigua, the two Bloomfields and Lima; and in addition to these Avon, Caledonia and Batavia.[17] Some of these towns, especially the two Bloomfields and Lima, constitute a remarkably handsome and rich tract of country.

Canandaigua is situated at the north of the lake of this name; and many of the buildings of this place are large and elegant. The lake is about eighteen or twenty miles long, and two or three miles broad.

But it would have been in order first to speak of Seneca lake, which lies east of lake Canandaigua. Seneca lake is about thirty-five miles long, and about two miles wide. The numerous lakes in the interior of the state of New-York, are admirably calculated to promote her inland commerce. Whilst they furnish by their numbers, and their positions the means of connecting her resources, and promoting the trade and intercourse of her people, they are not so large as to occupy an unnecessary portion of her territory. Every thing, in relation to New-York, is conspiring to render her a wonderfully powerful State.

[33] Whilst in Canandaigua the court was sitting; and

---

[17] At Geneva, Evans left the military district and entered the Phelps and Gorham Purchase. For a brief account of this tract and the towns located upon it, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, notes 3 and 36.—Ed.

owing to some novel proceedings there, one or two thousand people were assembled. After pressing through the crowd, and obtaining some information respecting my course, I proceeded on my way.

Not long after I formed a particular acquaintance with Doctor S. He introduced me to his family, and entertained me in a very hospitable and friendly manner. The Doctor, being no less fond of an innocent joke than he was conspicuous for his good sense and benevolence, proposed in the course of the evening, his introducing me to a shrewd old neighbour of his, as a relation who lived on some far distant mountain, and who had been long absent. I readily assented to the proposition, and we both agreed upon the parts which we were to act. Owing, however, to an unnatural performance on my part, or to some other cause, the neighbour detected the deception. But the assay resulted in considerable amusement; and after drinking to the health of each other, the Doctor and myself left the old gentleman to exult in his penetration.

At 3 o'clock the next morning, I was awakened by the rich and lofty notes of the bugle-horn, and entertained by several superb martial songs. At day light we sat down to a good breakfast; and immediately after I resumed my march.

Amidst all these pleasant circumstances, my dogs had accidentally been neglected; and seeing their master fare so well, they at length took the liberty to help themselves. The larder of Mrs. S. being open, they espied there a large pan of baked pork and beans; and without ceremony,— or knife and fork divided the former between them; leaving the beans for those who were less carniverous. After this broad hint on their part, the lady of the house fed them to their heart's content.

[34] During my tour, thus far, I formed many valuable acquaintances.

Here I may remark that from Albany to the remote interior of New-York, there is, generally speaking, but little hospitality; and the love of money there displays itself in the high prices which are charged for provisions. Immense profits are realized by the retailer at the expense of the traveller. I have always noticed in my travels, that the newer a settlement is, the more prevalent is hospitality. This great virtue is much more conspicuous among the poor, than among those who possess more than a competency. Here avarice begins its reign; and every virtue is blasted by its poisonous influence.

In this part of the country, and in many other places I often found it convenient to stop at the log huts of poor emigrants. From the inmates of these huts I always experienced a kind and generous welcome; and in almost every case I ascertained that they were from New-Hampshire or Vermont.—They would generally refuse to take any compensation for their services; and were so afraid of violating the sacred principles of hospitality, that I could only leave my money upon their table, or cast it as a play thing to their children. Oh! how many tutelary angels shield the cot of the poor and virtuous man, whilst the splendid habitations of the rich and dissipated, receive only the averted eye of offended Heaven.

I have omitted to mention, that whilst in Albany I was informed that robberies had been frequently committed on the Western Turnpike. This information appeared peculiarly important, on account of the frequent suggestions of people that I probably had with me a large sum of money. Besides, war, which always produces a greater or less number of abandoned and desperate characters, having [35] recently ceased, and there being many dark and solitary tracts of wood on the turnpike, I thought there was much cause for apprehension. I had, however, previously concealed my money in different parts of my cloaths, and was careful to keep my arms in a state of preparation. Fortunately I met with no attack. The appearance of my arms, and the apparent fierceness of my dogs, were, probably, preventatives.

I was frequently told too, that owing to my mode of dress, there would be much danger of my being shot by the hunters in passing through the bushes. Many accidents, sanctioning the idea, had from time to time occurred. A hunter, not long before, had killed a deer, and throwing it upon his shoulder was proceeding home. Another hunter, having an obscure view of the deer through the bushes, fired and killed the man. I did not, however, experience any injury from this quarter.

Such was the depth of snow and such the severity of the weather during the first month of my tour, that no game was to be found in the woods excepting a few squirrels; and those only during a momentary sunshine. Numerous as had been the beasts of prey throughout the preceding fall, they seemed now to be waiting in their dens for the storms to be overpassed. All nature appeared to be congealed; and the tyrant winter presented an unrelenting aspect.

In the remote parts of the State of New-York provisions were scarce. There are so many emigrants travelling and settling in that quarter during winter, that want is frequently the consequence.—The emigrants, who settle during that season of the year, must be fed, for many months, from the common stock of provisions, before they can, by their labour, add to it. Some of them have money, but [36] money will not save them from want. Here we see the importance of the agricultural interest, and, generally, of the productive power of labour. Agriculture and domestic manufactures will render a people perfectly independent. Money is of no real consequence excepting when employed as a circulating medium; fancy however has cherished for it an irrational partiality. Thank Heaven! we have no considerable mines of silver and gold to corrupt our country; but plenty of iron to plough her fields and to defend her liberties.

Agriculture is the most natural, necessary, and honourable employment of man. Ignorant pride and vain folly may represent it as derogatory; but in so doing they show how very far they are from true greatness. Agriculture furnishes for vigorous constitutions the most salutary exercise; and here the brightest geniuses may find ample employment.—An unlimited field for experiment in many branches of natural philosophy is here presented, and there is no sphere in life so well calculated as this to promote individual virtue and public advantage.

Here man is engaged in the peculiar work assigned him by his Creator, and many interesting reflections naturally result from it. The field which he cultivates is his parent earth. According to the righteous appointment of Heaven, he must here obtain his bread by the sweat of his brow, until he returns to the dust. The employment naturally directs his thoughts to his origin and destinies; and impresses his mind with a sense of his mortality, dependence, and accountability to God. Here too he reflects, with peculiar advantage, upon the gracious plan of Redemption. The return of spring joyfully reminds him of the Resurrection; and in the perishing grain which he has sown, he recognizes St. Paul's similitude of this great event.

[37] The further a man's employment is from rural scenes and avocations, the further he is from the original dignity and simplicity of his nature. Here may be acquired the

greatest comparative degree of physical and mental vigour, the noblest virtues, the truest piety, the most sincere and ardent patriotism, the loftiest independence of character, and all the pleasures which flow from the sprightliness of the imagination and the susceptibility of the heart.

The great and good of every age have spoken in behalf of agriculture; and the Egyptians ascribed the discovery of it to their gods. The worthies of Greece and Rome were well acquainted with the plough; and Cincinnatus left his team, vanquished the Æqui and Volsci, who were besieging the Roman army, and then returned to his beloved employment. Our Washington too, charmed his pure and noble spirit with the rural occupations of his endeared Vernon; and the Emperor of China attends, every spring, to the ceremony of opening the ground, by holding the plough himself.

In my course to Niagara Falls I passed Genesee river. This river rises in Pennsylvania, and enters Lake Ontario about eighty miles east of Niagara river. It contains several falls, from fifty to one hundred feet in height, and offers many fine seats for mills. This river, and those which are connected with it are generally sluggish in their motion.

The tract of country lying upon the Genessee is rich, and well watered. The celebrated Genessee Flats are situated on the borders of the river, and is about twenty miles by four.

The Holland Purchase is a part of the Genessee Country.[18]

Although I have not yet surveyed the whole field of domestic emigration, I may, with propriety, introduce in this place some ideas which I [38] have heretofore entertained upon the subject; these ideas having been fully sanctioned by the experience of my whole tour. The subject should be examined both in a national and individual point of view.

---

[18] For the Holland Purchase, see Buttrick's *Voyages, ante*, note 4.— Ed.

Supposing, for a moment, that my reflections upon this topic may produce some effect upon the feelings and opinions of those who are disposed to emigrate, there is little or no danger of lessening the interests of the nation, in relation to it, by checking too much the existing locomotive disposition of the people.

Dear as home is to man, he is, in his best estate, a wanderer. An alien from the purity and peace of Heaven, he will sigh for other scenes until his highest hopes eventuate in a habitation there.

Upon this general disposition of mankind to change their views of happiness and their place of residence, the people of the United States have engrafted an unusual degree of enterprise. This enterprise has at once enriched and ennobled their country. Naturally fond of agriculture, and fully sensible of its consequence, both in a public and private point of view, our citizens have combined, in relation to this subject, the powerful influences of inclination, interest, and patriotism. But the impulse to emigration under these circumstances may have been too great. When a spring naturally overflows, the superabundance of its water may well be spared to fertilize the adjacent country; but when some extraordinary influence produces an ebullition in the spring, it may, in consequence of this cause, exhaust its own resources and ultimately become dry.

Extraordinary causes, in relation to those subjects which concern the growth of a nation, should always be watched and sometimes checked. Under ordinary circumstances the natural operation of cause and effect will keep every thing within its proper [39] sphere,—will direct every thing to its proper level.

With respect to emigrations from our seaboard to the inland states and territories, there is danger of the strength of the nation being, for a time, lessened. The physical force of a country should always be kept compact. By dividing its powers its energies will be weakened.

Such, with us, has been the impetus of the spirit of emigration, that the influence of example and habit, in relation to it, will continue to operate for some time to come. Indeed such is the fascinating nature of the subject, that it will always be more or less popular; and as to the habit of moving from place to place, it is, in some, so completely fixed, that after they have passed through every part of the land of promise, they will, for the sake of one more change, return to the seaboard again. In a national point of view I am far from wishing to discourage domestic emigration; and I am far too from thinking that it does not frequently result in individual advantage.

It is essential to the preservation of our free and economical institutions, that the seaboard should from time to time transplant a part of its population to the interior. The existence of liberty in a state ultimately depends, in no small degree, upon rural avocations, and upon a particular climate and scenery. In some of our western states and territories liberty will exist for a great length of time. Transplanted from the seaboard, their citizens will acquire a new moral force, and that force will be cherished by the local peculiarities of their situation. These states will produce a happy balance between the agricultural and commercial interests, and prove at once the check and the political salvation of the maratime states.

[40] In proportion to the population of our maratime cities will be their luxury, dissipation, and indifference to simple and rational modes of government. No doubt the interests of commerce ought to be cherished; not, how-

ever, so much because they are essential to our independence and happiness, as because they encourage industry at home by furnishing a foreign market for surplus produce. The other advantages of foreign trade, both literary and commercial, are not inconsiderable; and they ought to be appreciated:— but not without a due reference to the contaminating influences of foreign manners and customs. With respect to manners and customs, other nations, in their intercourse with us, are, no doubt, gainers; but we, I am satisfied, experience from them much injury. It may be added, that a certain extent of population in our sea ports is essential to that degree of commercial enterprise, which will set afloat our surplus capital; and therefore we ought to view the spirit of emigration in relation to this particular.

I may improve this opportunity to make a few additional reflections upon foreign commerce. The advocates of this interest, under the pretence of attaching to it a consequence only equal to that of agriculture, have laboured to prove that the former is even paramount to the latter,— that the country is almost exclusively a commercial nation. One of these advocates, in a speech delivered in Congress in January 1814, advances such a principle. Much as I admire the sublime complexion of his intellect, and the enlightened majesty of his heart, I must say that his position is altogether exceptionable.— He observes, in the above mentioned speech, that the *principal* motive for adopting the constitution of the general government was the protection and extension of commerce. So far from this being the [41] case, the great and principal conditions and objects of our national compact, were individual security and the advancement of the true interests of the country. It must have been well known, that a state of things might exist which would render an abandonment of foreign commerce absolutely necessary to the preservation of our liberties,— to the protection of individual right, and even the very existence of the nation.

But I go much further. Our commercial interests are of far less consequence than those of agriculture. The former are not essential to our independence and comfort. They do not even exist until agriculture has so far advanced as to furnish more than sufficient provisions for the support of the whole community; not only for those who labour in agriculture, but also for labourers in manufactures and other mechanical employments; for those who are engaged in domestic commerce; for those who are engaged in promoting intellectual improvement; and lastly, for those who, owing to infancy, old age, disease and other causes are unable to work. When this state of things commences, and not before, foreign commerce begins its career. Here the people inquire what they shall do with their surplus produce, and being unable to find a market for it at home, endeavour to find for it a foreign market. Hence arise foreign commercial relations. As to the luxuries which foreign commerce produces, our constitution certainly never made provision for their introduction.

It remains for me to notice the subject of domestic emigration, in relation to the individual advantage which may arise from it.

The views of mankind with respect to the sources of true happiness are, generally speaking, very erroneous. This effect arises principally from inconsideration. [42] We see enough in the Divine Word in the book of nature, and in the suggestions of conscience to convince us, that our relation to a future state of existence is of wonderful import. The first questions which we should ask ourselves are:— what was the design of our creation? and what duties does this design inculcate? As far as is consistent with these great views, man may innocently consult his inclinations. Indeed they were given for the twofold purpose of rational gratification, and to furnish him with an opportunity, when their indulgence would be irrational, to display his virtue by self-controul. The more strictly we conform to that purity of heart and holiness of life which the gospel inculcates, the more exalted will be our nature, the higher our standard of happiness, and the more perfect our preparation for the society of Heaven.

The present life is, no doubt, a season of probation. Here we are to form a character for a future and permanent state of existence. Consistently with the endeavour duly to improve our intellectual, moral, and religious nature, it is important for man to exert himself to obtain a comfortable support. Generally speaking, however, this should be the limit of his views. It is most consistent with the uncertain tenure of human life, and most congenial to the growth of virtue and the production of happiness. A wish to acquire a great estate can be sanctioned only by an equal desire to employ it in effecting charitable purposes, and in aiding institutions which have in view individual and public advantage. The desire of great wealth for other purposes is criminal. It is dictated by a spirit of luxury, by pride, by extravagance, by a spirit of vain competition, or, what is worse than all, by avarice. As for leaving great estates to children, no wise or kind parent will ever do it. Industry will, generally speaking, produce a [43] competency; and economy will, in time, convert that competency into wealth.

But I must speak more directly to the point.— From motives of patriotism one may emigrate from the east to the west, especially to a frontier state or territory; and he will, perhaps, find in this removal great individual profit. The circumstances of men are various. Emigrations are sometimes advantageous and sometimes otherwise; — advantageous in point of health and in point of property. Many, however, lose both instead of gaining either by a removal. There are many erroneous views entertained upon this subject: and it is, principally, because men are governed, in relation to it, more by feelings than by ideas. The subject interests the imagination; and pleasing anticipations upon a new topic, always afford more satisfaction, than the actual possession of that which is as valuable as the object itself, the future possession of which is anticipated. Many persons by emigration have become rich; but does it follow that they might not have become so at home? Many too by moving from place to place have become poor. Had they been stationary they might at least have secured to themselves a competency. There are almost innumerable advantages and disadvantages in relation to this subject, and the balance must be stricken according to the circumstances of each individual. Those whose object is to acquire a good living by their industry, and who can obtain this at home, will act unwisely in changing their situation. They cannot more fully gratify their views by a removal: and by such a step they abandon what is necessary and certain for what is at once unnecessary and precarious. They might, perhaps, obtain abroad, with less labour, what they now obtain at home; but they are not aware how essential industry is to their happiness. [44] It gives a zest to food, and sleep, and social intercourse; and also furnishes substantial rest; — a luxury of which the idle are ignorant. Some have been so imprudent as to abandon the home of their infancy, where the comforts of life could have been obtained by a good degree of industry. What were the consequences? perhaps wealth; — but it was unnecessary; — perhaps poverty, disease and premature death. Some too, even in advanced life, and after spending their time in clearing a tract of land, so as to render it fertile and easy of cultivation, have sacrificed a comfortable and pleasant old age for new perils and labours in the western wilds.

The great complaint of the people of the east is, that their agricultural labours are great and their crops small. This declaration is, in some degree, correct; but its truth arises, principally, from our cultivating too much land. And yet we are ready to make great sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining vast tracts in the west. It is admitted that the land of the west is, generally speaking, more fertile than ours; but it does not follow that it will always be so, or that ours may not be rendered sufficiently fertile. New land is always most productive. It has been enriching itself for ages. But its fertility will, upon being cultivated, become less. We see the truth of these remarks in the cultivation of our own new lands. But I will not conceal the fact, that the western lands are naturally more fertile than those of the east. Some of the former are almost inexhaustibly rich; but others of them will, in time, become poor; and then will not be so easily rendered fertile as those of the east. The eastern land too is stronger, more durable, retains moisture longer, and of course more easily preserves its fertility. This is particularly the case in its comparison with the land of Kentucky. That State is exposed [45] to great drouth. . Its pan being limestone, and its soil consisting of loam, but little rain is imbibed, and that little is soon lost through the pores of the limestone, and by evaporation. To the great quantities of limestone in Kentucky, its caves and petrefactions are to be attributed. Moisture is absolutely necessary to vegetation. The richest land without it is entirely unproductive. Upon this principle it is decidedly injurious to deprive land of its small stones. They not only cause it to retain moisture; but, by keeping it light, enable it to receive much rain. They also render the earth warm, and admit into it the necessary quantity of air. By depriving land of its stones the earth falls into a solid mass, and the consequence is, that it imbibes but a small portion of rain. The stones of our fields should be rolled in as soon as the grain is sowed. On the surface they will be useless, and very troublesome.

I have suggested, that we cultivate too much land to render agriculture profitable. I speak in relation to the means which we employ for fertilizing our land. Much may be done without the aid of manure; but the use of this article is the most ready and efficient mode of rendering the cultivation of the earth profitable. Instead, however, of increasing this article by compost, we misapply that which is incident to our farms. By spreading a small quantity of manure upon a large piece of poor land, it is almost entirely lost; in as much as it remains in an inactive state. There is not a sufficient quantity to give an impetus to the cold and barren earth with which it is mixed. This is one great cause of poor crops; and the great surface over which the labour of the husbandman is spread is the principal ground of the excessive labour of which he complains. Should the farmer plough [46] only as much land as he could highly manure, his labour would be comparatively small, his crops great, and his land constantly improving. By this mode of proceeding the crops would not exhaust the land; and the quantity of manure upon it, beyond what is necessary to the production of the crops, would, by its fermentation, fertilize and render of the nature of compost the whole cultivated surface. Such land may, with a trifling expense, be kept very rich. Whilst this process is operating upon a part of the poor lands of a farm, the residue of them may lie fallow, or be fertilized by ploughing in such green crops as may be produced upon a lean soil.

The extraordinary means of enriching land are numerous. A little reflection upon the most common principles of philosophy will point them out. The elements, acting upon each other, are constantly producing effects, and the latter operate as causes in the production of effects more remote. Different soils, and different manures, and different crops must all be connected according to their respective and relative natures.

The materials for making compost upon a farm are almost innumerable; and leisure hours, which would otherwise be lost, may be employed in collecting them. Another extraordinary mean of fertilizing the earth is frequent ploughing. This work, especially when performed at particular times, is highly useful. It separates the unproductive masses, and opens the soil more fully to the impregnations of that vegetable nourishment which is contained in rain, dew, and even the air itself. Ploughing land when the dew is on the ground is very beneficial. I may add, that the ploughing in of stubble as soon as the crops are off, is of much consequence.

[47] Wet land should be drained, and, when practicable, land comparatively high should be overflown. The soil of the former should, in some cases, be spread upon the latter; and that of the latter applied in the same way upon the former. Overflowing may sometimes be employed conveniently and to much advantage.

I have said that moisture is absolutely necessary to vegetation. This country is rather subject to drouth than otherwise; and hence, principally, arises the occasional failure of our crops. One cause of the great fertility of England is the frequent rains there. With us there is more rain than in Great-Britain; but in the latter place it falls, not in torrents as is sometimes the case with us, but in gentle and more frequent showers. Wet seasons are never unfruitful.

Another mode of rendering land productive is by a change of crops. Different plants require a different kind of nourishment, and a piece of land may contain a greater quantity of one kind of vegetable food than of another. All crops, in a greater or less degree, consume, in time, their peculiar food; and of course require a change of situation. To make this change, among the variety of crops on a farm, with judgment, requires both theoretical and practical knowledge in husbandry.

A change of seed also is of consequence. Seed carried from the north to the south, and likewise from the east to the west will do better than that which comes from a milder climate. Sowing seed upon the ground which produced it is highly disadvantageous. By a change of seed the action of the soil upon it is more animated. Improvement of seed too in agriculture is of consequence. That which is first ripe and most perfect should be selected; [48] and the mode of preserving it requires attention.

With respect to the raising of cattle too we act as unwisely as we do in relation to the cultivation of our land. According to the limited productions of our farms, our cattle are too numerous. We lose one half of the food appropriated for them, by applying it to too great a number. In many cases our cattle are not worth so much in the spring of the year as they were in the preceeding fall. Our swine, in particular, are kept poor until the crops come in, and then it costs to fatten them three times as much as they are worth: the consequence is that the farmer, before another fall, complains of his want of corn.

Great improvements may be made in relation to the breed and feeding of cattle. A change of stock is as important here as in agriculture. It may also be observed, that present profit is too frequently consulted at the expense of ultimate loss. The farmer sells all his best cattle to the butcher, or kills them for his own use, before their real value is suffered to develope itself, and to eventuate in the improvement of his stock.

The agricultural societies established in New-England, and in other states of the Union, within a few years, have produced much individual and public benefit. That of Massachusetts is rendering her, with respect to this subject, the rival of Great-Britain. New-Hampshire is doing something in this way; and her legislature should immediately encourage her agricultural interests.

As to the means of increasing our crops, much more might be offered; but the nature of this work will not warrant it. Although many of our farmers do well, all might do better; and it cannot be denied that many of us are very negligent agriculturalists. How many of our lands are [49] ploughed only once, and that very imperfectly!—How many of our pastures are injured by the promiscuous range of swine, geese, and every other creature on a farm! How many of our orchards are left for years uncultivated and unpruned! How many of our mowing fields are, both in the spring and fall, shamefully poached and grubbed by horses and sheep, as well as horned cattle! How much neglect is there in the collection of fodder, and how much waste in the application of it! With us there are many errors to be corrected, and many improvements to be made. This topic is important, interesting, and exhaustless; but I must dismiss it, after making a very few additional remarks. As to our orchards, and the grazing of our mowing fields in the spring, I trust that we shall speedily abandon practices which are so disgraceful and so injurious. The most vigorous roots of grass shoot first. Those our cattle crop. The future growth is feeble; and grass, which springs after the season for it, is always puny. With respect to our orchards, we seem to think that they require no cultivation; that we have only to set down the trees, and all will be well: but the nature of things should convince us of the irrationality of our views upon this point. Trees require manuring and cultivating as much as any other plant.

I return to the comparison between the east and the west. However high may be the reputation of [50] the western lands, they are decidedly inferior to ours, as a grazing country. Another advantage which we possess over the west is, the superiority of our market. There is a much greater disproportion between the prices, than between the crops of the two sections of the country. Our crops are something less; but the prices which we obtain for our produce are much higher than those of the west. As to the prices too, of many articles, such as clothing and groceries, the advantage is with us; the people of the west being obliged to pay for the expense of transportation, and also the profits of the western retailer.

In point of health, the air of the west is not so salubrious as that of the east. The country being still covered with forests, its streams are noxious; and being too, a level country, its evaporations are great. These circumstances produce diseases of a peculiar and fatal nature. Our mountains are entirely free from them.

With respect to religious privileges, morals, means of education, and social intercourse, the west is at present, and will be for some time to come, far inferior to the east.

As to relations and friends, which emigrants frequently leave behind them, every one will judge for himself; but surely to a disinterested and susceptable heart, this sacrifice is not inconsiderable. When persons of this cast of character reflect upon the fleeting nature of time, its vicissitudes, and the need which they frequently feel of the society and solace of their friends, they will wish to spend with them the days of their pilgrimage, to participate with them in the little joys of life, and to commune together upon the hopes of a better world.

In concluding my reflections upon the subject of emigration, I may observe that in no case is it necessary [51] for the people of the east to emigrate to the western country. There is in the former an ample field for labour; and the reward of this labour is sufficient for every rational purpose of life. Whilst men complain of labour, they add to it by speculating upon foreign means of enjoyment, when at the same time they possess every source of happiness, excepting gratitude and contentment. Many persons, by extravagance, become embarrassed, and then censure the times, and complain of their lot instead of applying to industry and economy for relief. Economy will perform wonders. Nothing is more true than the adage that a penny saved is a penny earned. The state of things, for several years past, has been teaching us a salutary lesson upon this subject; and all can now live within their income without wounding their pride. In economising, however, we must avoid parsimony, which soon leads to avarice — the source of all crime, and all littleness.

I have already written much; but, according to my journal, it is still February, I have progressed only within sixty miles of the Heights of Queenston, and the storms of winter still rage.

In my course through the western parts of the state of New York, I generally travelled within forty miles of Lake Ontario. In this part of the country many of the people entertain strange notions respecting supernatural agencies. Solitude, whilst it strengthens the mind, and fortifies the heart of the well-informed, renders the ignorant timid and superstitious. The whisper of their forests, and the echo of their hills, alarm their unenlightened imaginations. Those inhabitants of the west, of whom I am now speaking, believe in witchcraft, and often suppose it the source of disease both in man and beast. Whilst on the borders of Ontario, I stopped for a few moments at a log hut where there was a man in a convulsion [52] fit. During the operation of the malady, my attention was attracted by the conversation of two young women upon the subject. One of them observed that if a garment of the man should be taken off and thrown into the fire, the fit would leave him, and never again return. The other assented to the idea; but the prescription was not attended to. Perhaps they were afraid of being bewitched themselves. It is a very common idea too, in the remote parts of New-York, that if a man should shoot an owl with his rifle, it would be rendered so crooked as never to throw ball true again.

I may here say a word of the back-woodsmen. They are hardy, active, industrious, and in the employment of the axe, wonderfully strong and dexterous. But, with respect to manners, some of them are no less rude than the wilds which they inhabit.

The upper part of the state of New York is, comparatively, a wilderness. There are here many Indian reserves. They are solitary places; they are dark spots on the face of civilization. The tawny inhabitants of these gloomy forests generally establish themselves in the most remote situations, and render the access to them indirect and difficult. Whenever I entered their villages, they seemed, by their manner towards each other, to say: "This civil wretch has found out our retreat." There is a shyness and wildness in their aspect, no less significant than such a declaration. No cause of wonder is it, that these persecuted beings look with a jealous eye upon the descendants of those Europeans, who drove their ancestors from the pleasant regions of the east. They see no end to the avarice, the claims, or the progress of white men; and view themselves between the horrors of civilization, and the illimitable expanse of the Pacific ocean.

[53] Barbarous as are the Indians of North America, they possess much greatness, and many virtues. Considering their prejudices against us, which prejudices are incident to their education, and by no means groundless, they evince much forbearance, and even friendship towards us.

Near one of the Indian reserves, I met five of these children of nature. As I had not seen one for fifteen years before, I was much interested in their appearance. In approaching them I presented a grave but friendly aspect. Their gravity at first exceeded mine, but they soon became rather sociable. After some little conversation we parted, not, however, until they had taken much notice of my "varm drase." In the course of a few hours, I passed what is called an Indian opening. It was an exposed situation of many miles in extent; the weather was severe, the snow deep, and the wind continually whirled it about the unsheltered traveller.

Not knowing the extent of this opening, and fearing that night might find me without fuel, or materials for a tent, I exerted myself to reach in season, the adjoining wood. By this means I became fatigued, and very much in want of refreshment. I had no provisions with me, and indeed no means of carrying any. I soon perceived, in the edge of the forest, a small log hut; but poverty resided there, and I could obtain only an ear of corn; this, however, I found palatable and nutritious. Dyonysius[19] did not like the fare of the public tables, under the institutions of Lycurgus, because, as the cook said, it was not seasoned with fatigue and hunger. Towards evening, as I was travelling through a dark wood, I discovered what I presumed to be an Indian trail, and, for the sake of adventure, concluded to follow it. It snowed fast, darkness was approaching, and [54] the wilderness presented a dreary aspect. Had not my heart been afraid of me, it would have communicated a secret alarm to my imagination, and then I should have seen around me a thousand ambuscades. But I had so often cried *down* to its contemptible obtrusiveness, that it feigned, at least, a tranquil mood.

The snow was deep, and the track exceedingly serpentine; so that I seemed, occasionally, to be travelling back to the point at which I commenced the adventure. It, however, finally led me over a gradual descent into a dark plain. The first evidence which I had of there being human habitations here, was a few sticks of recently cut wood piled above the snow. Soon after, I heard the distant bay of dogs. At length I came in open view of a large collection of wigwams. It was now, however, so dark, and it snowed so fast, that I could only see obscurely the objects which presented themselves. But upon going nearer, my attention was arrested by the appearance of many Indians, going in their blankets, from several of the huts to a long and low building, which

---

[19] The tyrant.— Evans.

I afterwards ascertained was their council house. Thinking that I should here have a good opportunity to see many of the Indians together, I knocked at the door, lifted the latch, and entered. I made a slight bow, and took off my cap. They presented me, in return, a serious and unmoved aspect, but offered me a seat. Soon after, I thought that I perceived in them some degree of timidity. They had, within a few days, been performing some religious ceremonies, and were, probably, unusually superstitious. They had been wearing masks, for the purpose of driving the evil spirit from their village; and, perhaps, they began to think that they had not affected their object. I endeavoured, however, to render my society agreeable [55] to them. When I entered the council house, there were about fifty or sixty persons there. The building was about eighty feet long, and about twelve or fourteen wide. Across the beams overhead were several poles, hanging from which were some traces of mouldy corn; and on each side of the building were benches for seats. There was no floor to the house, and at each end of it there was, upon the ground, a large council fire. At a little distance from these, there were two parties engaged in a war-dance. This is a custom which these Indians will not relinquish. Some of them were naked, and many of them covered with ornaments. They wore strings of trinkets around their ankles, the object of which appeared to be to produce music in dancing. They also had much jewelry in their ears and noses. In their war dances, they imitate every part of an engagement: the onset, retreat of the enemy, pursuit, &c. Here the young warrior acquires a martial spirit, and the love of fame; and here too the aged veteran reminds his tribe of what he has done, and of what his spirit tells him he could do again. During the dances, I was much interested in the appearance of a youth, a son of a chief, whose zeal for his nation caused him, in the feigned pursuit of the enemy, to leap over the prescribed circle of the dance, into the fire. An old and decrepit chief too, here evinced no less devotion to his country. His appearance excited admiration and pity. He was emaciated by disease, scarred in battle, and bent with the weight of years. He evinced in his efforts the greatest energy of spirit, whilst such was his decrepitude that he could not lift his eyes from the ground. His trinkets rattled upon his aged limbs, and his wheezing lungs sounded in his hollow trunk. Poor child of nature! — Heaven careth for thee!

[56] The dances commenced with the beat of an old kettle drum, and was ended by a rap with a club upon one of the benches. At the conclusion of each dance one of the chiefs addressed the company, and passed a piece of tobacco as a token, which they understood much better than myself.

In the course of an hour or two after I left this scene of war, I entered one of the huts. Many came here to see me, and seemed desirous to know from whence I came, whither I was going, &c. A few of them could imperfectly speak English. An old chief attracted, by his ugliness, my particular attention. He was about sixty years of age; his skin was coarse and shrivelled, his face was covered with scars, one of his eyes was protuberant, bloodshot and sightless, and his hair was matted by thick red paint, having the appearance of blood. Some of the men were likely, the old women squallid, and the young ones uninteresting. The children, however, were pretty.

It is said that the Indians of North America treat their wives with coldness and neglect; but I am of a different opinion. Certain it is that their affection towards their offspring is lively and tender.

After taking some refreshment I laid down upon deer skins, by a good fire, and slept well. I trusted to my dogs for security. In the morning I feasted upon venison, and conversed with several of the Indians upon a variety of subjects, particularly upon the good will which ought to prevail among mankind, without any reference to a difference of complexion. The Indians were very desirous of obtaining my dogs, and would have given me a very high price for them. I did not know but that they might wish me out of the way, for the purpose of procuring them.

[57] The appearance of the village is interesting. It is situated upon a plain, and contains about one hundred huts. Through the centre of the village runs a narrow serpentine creek, which affords, in summer, an abundance of fish. On one side of the plain is a thicket of bushes, and on the other a pleasant rise of land. The name of the Creek is Tonewanto, and that of the tribe Tondanwandeys.[29]

Although in some little degree civilized, with respect to arts, this tribe are still deplorably superstitious. Once a year they sacrifice two white dogs to their deity, after painting them, decorating them with ribbons, and dancing around them. The sacrifice consists in burning the dogs, and scattering their ashes to the winds. The ceremonies generally continue fourteen days, and end in a feast.

The Tondanwandeys worship the sun, and also bury their dead in the morning, that the deceased persons may have time before night to reach their relations in another world. In the grave they place the clothes, pipe, dish, spoon, &c. of the deceased, thinking that they will be wanted in a future state. Over the graves of their friends these Indians make a hideous howl. This tribe detest lying and stealing; and those who are innocent of these crimes are supposed to go to their relations in a better world, where there is a milder sky and plenty of game.—Those, on the contrary, who are guilty of these offences, wander from place to place, and seek their friends in vain. These are their ideas of future rewards and punishments.

---

[29] The modern name is Tonawanda Creek. It rises near the northern boundary of Wyoming County, New York, and enters Niagara River ten miles north of Buffalo. The Indian village was part of a reservation containing seventy square miles retained by the Seneca, when in 1797 they sold their lands to the Holland Company.— Ed.

The Tondanwandeys are much troubled with the supposed existence of witchcraft; and not long since they burned one of their women upon the suspicion of her possessing such power.

We need not go to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean for singular manners and customs. We find [58] them here, and it is evident that the manners and customs of all uncivilized countries are, in many particulars, very similar. Some of them are dictated by nature, some arise from accident, and some are the effect of tradition.

Notwithstanding the ignorance of the Tondanwandeys, in one particular they leave civilized men far behind them: they will not suffer any spirituous liquors to be brought into their village. This is an instance of policy and self-denial of which even Sparta might have been proud.

The language of these Indians appears very much like that of the savage tribes of the North West Coast of America. Most of their sounds are either guttural or nasal; but principally the former. Their voice in conversation is unpleasant; and particularly so in singing. The tones of the women, however, are soft and agreeable.

The language of this tribe contains but a few simple words; they therefore express new ideas by combinations of terms, connected with such gestures, and other accompaniments of speech, as comport with the real or fancied nature of the subject.

It is not uncommon for these Indians to travel fifty leagues from home for the purpose of hunting. They employ the principal part of the summer in the chase. In autumn they again engage in the business. This is their most important season, on account of the greater relative value of furs. During the winter they return home, laden with peltry, smoaked flesh of various kinds, and the fat of bears. Last season they were very successful.

In hunting, Indians are exceedingly industrious and indefatigable; but in every other employment they are very indolent. It is probably owing to the latter circumstance, that they suffer their women to be the hewers of wood, and the performers of other servile work among them. From this practice has, [59] probably, arisen the idea, that Indians treat their wives with severity.

The belief of the Tondanwandeys, relative to a future state, is very simple and interesting. The death of friends is one of the greatest trials of life; and is calculated to produce the happiest influence upon the human heart. It alienates our affections from this world, and directs them to the happy abode of departed spirits. The desire of meeting our friends in a better state of existence renders Heaven doubly dear to us; and combines at once the tenderness of affection, the hope of glory, and the fear of God. The poor Indian fears nothing so much as the permanent loss of his friends; and finding them in a better world constitutes, with him, the bliss of Heaven.

I continued at the Indian village until about noon of the next day. Before leaving it, I purchased a pair of deerskin moccasons. It having snowed the preceding night, my path through the wood was obliterated. After travelling a mile or two I became completely bewildered; and although I had a pocket compass with me, I thought it best to return to the village, and obtain some directions from the Indians; but as it was still snowing fast, my track in this direction could not, at length, be distinguished from the impression made by masses of snow, falling from the trees. I am unable to do justice to the solitude of my situation. It was profound and instructive. The force of thought and luxury of sentiment, which the wilderness inspires, is indiscribable. Here man feels, at once, humble and exalted. *Silence*, with a voice of thunder, maintains the cause of virtue, and the human soul experiences the tranquil ardour of immortal hopes.

Much exertion at length brought me to the place where, the evening before, I noticed the Indian [60] path. Having been plunging through the snow for some time, without taking any notice of my dogs, I found, when I stopped to rest, that one of them was missing. After waiting some time for his arrival, I went back about two miles, and found him lying in the snow. As soon as I had come within a few rods of him, he arose and ran further from me, but at the same time appeared desirous of convincing me of his devotion, by smiles, and the wagging of his tail. By his manner he seemed to say: I wish to be faithful, but I am weary, and see no end to our travel. Lameness, however, was the cause of his discouragement. It appeared, that one of his feet was frozen.

In the course of a day or two from this time, I arrived in the neighbourhood of the Tuscarora Indians. They are situated on a ridge of hills, leading to which there are several very romantic passes. I visited them early in the morning. At this time the weather was very cold, and there was no path through the deep snow excepting some imperfect tracks made by themselves. In clambering up these hills, walking on the narrow footing of their sides, and supporting myself by the little bushes which had grown from the veins of the rocks, my mind dwelt upon Switzerland, and I almost imagined myself a Chamois hunter.

When I had come within view of the village, several Indians were about their wigwams, but upon seeing me, they all entered them, and shut the doors. The Tuscaroras, as well as the Tondanwandeys, had been sacrificing their dogs, and wearing their masks, and their imaginations, no doubt, were rather lively. But whatever may have been their impressions concerning me, they appeared, at first, very inhospitable. I went to the door of one of the huts, into which I saw several Indians enter, and knocked; [61] but all was silence. Not wishing to be obtrusive, I then went to another; and here, too, all was silence. I knew not what to make of these appearances, and thought that the Indians might be preparing to shoot me through the door; but feeling that I had, in a state of nature, at least an *imperfect* right to seek under one of their roofs a resting place or a drink of water, I opened the door and walked in. There were here several Indians, and they all appeared timid. By my manner, however, I soon convinced them of my pacific disposition; and they, at length, became a little sociable.

There is a missionary among the Tuscaroras; but I understand that he meets with much opposition from them. They, like other unchristianized men, point to the bad conduct of many of those, who have always possessed the light of revelation.—This argument is plausible; and, to them, it appears conclusive. In fact, however, it is very unsound. There are individuals among this tribe, who threaten the most bloody destruction upon those of their nation, who shall embrace the christian religion.

I may add, that we expect too much from savages, in relation to this subject. Before we attempt to make christians of them, we ought to make them rational men: we ought first to persuade them to adopt the manners and customs of civilization: we ought first to teach them the elements of literature. By these means their minds would become so enlarged and strengthened, as to enable them to understand the most plain and simple truths of the gospel; and in understanding they would appreciate them.

In endeavouring to instruct savages in religion without taking these previous steps, little or no success can rationally be expected. The narrowness of their views prevents them from understanding the force of its precepts; and therefore they will prefer [62] their own superstitions to what they consider ours. Savages, with respect to this subject, should be treated like little children; their letters should first be taught them, and then their catechism:—

> "God sees from whole to part;
> But human soul, must rise from individual to the whole."

The Tuscarora Indians emigrated from North Carolina very early in the seventeenth century, and were adopted by the Oneidas.[21] It is said that they were, originally, of the same nation.

Soon after my little excursion to the Tuscaroras, I arrived at Lewistown; the place which made so great a figure in the news-paper annals of the late war.[22] It is a very small village. Opposite to this place, across the river Niagara, are the heights of Queenstown. The portage, rendered necessary by the falls of Niagara, commences at this part of the Straits; this being the head of ship navigation from Lake Ontario.

---

[21] A brief account of the Tuscarora migration may be found in Long's *Voyages*, vol. ii of our series, note 12.— Ed.

[22] The first building on the site of Lewiston was constructed by La Salle's party in December, 1678. In spite of the protests of Governor Burnet of New York, Joncaire established (1720) a small French trading post at this point, "a kind of cabin of bark, where they displayed the king's colors." It was soon replaced by a blockhouse inclosed by palisades; but after Fort Niagara was rebuilt (1726), this post was allowed to fall into decay. Lewiston was surveyed (1798) for a village site by the Holland Company, and in 1800 contained about ten families. It was a port of entry from 1811 to 1863.— Ed.

From Lewistown I proceeded down, along the east bank of the river, to Fort Niagara.[33] Colonel Pinkney, who commanded there, is a man of a noble aspect and elegant manners.[34] From him and his lady I experienced a hospitable and kind reception. Whilst at the Fort I was surprised to find that the River Niagara and Lake Ontario never freeze. This is a fact of which I was ignorant.

On the opposite side of the Niagara, is the field where Gen. Brock fell; and on this side is the monument of Colonel Christie:—

"I have seen a tomb by a roaring stream,
The dark dwelling of a chief."

Colonel Christie was a truly brave and devoted soldier; and General Brock, though a foe, was distinguished for conduct, courage and humanity.[35] [63] Fort Niagara is sit-

---

[33] For the early history of Fort Niagara, see Long's *Voyages*, vol. ii of our series, note 19.— Ed.

[34] Ninian Pinckney, brother of the statesman William Pinckney, was born at Baltimore (1776), and entered the United States army in 1799. Serving as aide to General Wilkinson in 1813, he was promoted the following year to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He also gained some fame as a writer, by publishing (1809) *Travels in the South of France*, which "set all the idle world to going to France to live on the charming banks of the Loire." He died at Baltimore in 1825.— Ed.

[35] October 13, 1812, the American regular troops, Lieutenant-colonel Christie commanding, crossed the Niagara River, and stormed and captured Queenstown Heights, six miles from its mouth. General Brock, hastening with reinforcements to the aid of the British, was killed and his troops driven back. But the American militia refused to cross the river to support the regulars and the battle being renewed, the latter were finally surrounded and compelled to surrender. For a brief biography of General Brock, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, note 6.

Colonel John Christie, born in New York City in 1786, was a graduate of uated on the east bank of the river of this name, at its junction with Lake Ontario. This is a very important post. The Fort was built by the French in 1751; and in 1759 it was taken by the British General Johnson, after defeating the French army near that place. The vicinity of the Fort was, originally, the peculiar country of the Iroquois, or Six Nations. As to the causes of Lake Ontario, never freezing, it is evident that they must be local and peculiar. Lake Erie, which is not so far north, freezes hard. This circumstance shows, that congelation does not depend so much upon latitude, as upon other circumstances. Abstractedly it is otherwise; but relative to peculiar local causes the position is correct. In Hudson's Bay, the weather in winter is intensely cold; yet this place is only in the latitude of London. It is generally supposed to be intolerably cold at the North Pole; but the fact may be otherwise. The idea arises from an abstract survey of the nature of latitude, and from connecting it with the known temperature of a particular situation. It is known to be very cold in that part of Greenland which lies on the coast of Baffin's Bay; and the inference drawn is, that the weather is much more so at the North Pole. But, it may as well be said that because it is cold on the river Piscataqua, it is much more so on the river Thames; and yet here the fact contradicts the argument. In some places under the Equator, the weather is as mild in summer as it is in New England; why therefore, may it not be as warm in winter at the North Pole, as in the latter place? In point of analogy the question is unanswerable. But there is a more direct argument: in some situations under the equator, there is

---

Columbia College, and in 1808 gave up the study of law to enter the army. For the courage and skill displayed in the battle of Queenstown he was advanced to the rank of colonel, March, 1813. He died the following July from the effects of a wound received in the battle.— Ed.

perpetual snow. I am aware, however, that this depends upon altitude. It is said that there is everlasting ice at the North Pole; [64] but the assertion cannot be correct. The surface of the North Pole consists either of land or ocean; if land it cannot become ice, and if ocean it must continue in a liquid state; for no ocean has ever been known to freeze: the depth of its water, and its perpetual undulation prevent such effect. Besides, in north latitudes as far as eighty or eighty-two, sea fogs are known to prevail, and these too prevent the congelation of the ocean.

The influence of the sun upon the various parts of the earth, during its annual motion, is not yet fully understood; and the effect of local causes adverse from or cooperative with such influence is yet to be learned.[36]

As to the mountains of ice, which have been seen in north latitudes, and which have been mentioned as evidence of the perpetual frost of the North Pole, they, probably, floated from some neighboring bays, such as Baffin's, Hudson's, &c. and were formed by the accumulation of several masses of ice, which were created on the surface of these bays, and also by the additions of snow and rain. This last idea seems to be sanctioned by the fact, that from these mountains, as they are called, rivulets of fresh water, produced by their gradual dissolution, have been known to distil from their summit.

"Local and peculiar causes," with respect to climate, do, in all probability, operate every where. It is, in many cases, as cold in lower, as in higher latitudes. In the latitude of the Island of St. Joseph, [37] it is as cold in winter, as it is at Quebec. One of the great causes of a diversity of climate, beyond that which is produced by latitude, may be found [65] in the difference between land and sea air; and yet this cause may, in some cases, be so controuled by an adverse cause, as to be rendered inoperative. Upon the first idea, however, it may be warmer at the North Pole than on the Arctic Circle; indeed, in the former place, the weather may be quite moderate, even in winter. Another circumstance in support of this supposition may be adduced: it is well known that the earth itself is productive of heat. In the United States, its temperature is, perhaps, from thirty to fifty degrees. At the North Pole, the surface of the globe must be, during a part of the year, heated to a much greater degree; even allowing, as will be proper, for the difference between the capacities of land and water, to imbibe heat. At the Poles, the heat of their surface, during those months in which the sun, as to them, does not set, must be intense; and for this heat to evaporate, would require a considerable time, even during the total absence of the sun. In Russia, vegetation is so rapid, that the work of sowing and reaping is frequently accomplished in six weeks; and in the latitude of eighty, the heat in summer is so great as to melt the pitch in the seams of vessels, to such a degree as to endanger their safety.

---

[36] It is the intention of the writer to attempt, as soon as he can make the necessary arrangements, to penetrate to the North Pole, and to find a North-West passage by land.— EVANS.

[37] This is an island of Ontario in the channel between Lakes Superior and Huron.— ED.

In advancing the foregoing theories, respecting local and peculiar climate, for the purpose of throwing some light upon the unfrozen state of Lake Ontario during the winter season, I have, perhaps, taken too extensive a range; but the subject is, in its nature, inexhaustible. My concluding reflections upon this topic, will have a more particular application to it.

Some of the causes of Lake Ontario never freezing are, probably, the depth of its water, and its exposure to winds. Frost is, in its nature, heavy; and therefore shallow water gets chilled sooner, and [66] sooner freezes. As soon as the surface of water becomes impregnated with frost, its weight presses it to the bottom, and a new supply rises to take its place. Thus, a revolution is continued, until the whole mass becomes chilled to a certain degree, and then the surface congeals. The necessary quantity of cold in the mass, to produce this effect upon the surface, is about thirty degrees. The depth of Lake Ontario is very great. Attempts to ascertain its depth have, in many places, been in vain: various parts of the centre have been sounded with a line of three hundred and fifty fathoms, without success. It must require a great degree, and a long continuance of cold, so to chill so deep a body of water, as to produce the congelation of its surface.

As to the influence of wind, it produces, as has been observed, an undulation of water, so as to prevent that regular operation of frost, which is necessary to congelation. The land on the north east of Lake Ontario, is low; and the Lake is frequently agitated by storms.

As another supposed cause of the unfrozen state of this lake in the winter season, it may be presumed that there are beds of salt at the bottom of this body of water, which neutralize, in some measure, the elements of frost, as they descend beneath the surface. There are numerous salt springs on both sides of the Lake, and in its immediate vicinity.

Further: there is reason to believe, that there are warm springs in the bed of this lake. In the vicinity of it, on the Canada side, hunters frequently meet with spots of ground, about two or three acres in extent, the surface of which is, in the winter, entirely free from snow; and yet these spots are surrounded with snow to the depth of six or eight feet. Upon these places the snow, when it falls, instantly [67] melts, both that which falls upon the ground, and upon the trees.

I may add, that there are in several parts of N. America, particularly in the Missouri Territory, springs, the heat of which is about one hundred and fifty degrees. Such springs may exist in the bed of Lake Ontario, and if so, they would go far to prevent the influence of frost.

Whilst at Fort Niagara, several little anecdotes occurred which, perhaps, are not worth mentioning; they may, however, afford a momentary interest, and thereby reward me for exposing myself to the imputation of egotism and vanity.

When I arrived at the Fort, I was much weather-beaten; and, according to the sea-phrase, it was high time for me to put into some harbor and repair damages. Just before reaching this post, I understood that Colonel Pinkney commanded there; and notwithstanding the roughness of my appearance, I wished to become acquainted with him.

I have always thought it both proper and politic for a gentleman, in a strange place, if he makes himself known at all, to introduce himself to men of the first consideration; and after this step, to leave them to take the lead in every thing respecting their cultivation of his acquaintance. Under such circumstances, if the persons to whom he introduces himself are gentlemen, he will be treated well, and they will consider his confidence in them a compliment; but if they should not treat him with due respect and attention, he may well pride himself in his superiority, and pity their false views of true greatness.

Upon entering the Fort, I met an Irish soldier, who seemed to possess all the characteristic hospitality and friendship of his countrymen. He, by my request, very readily conducted me to the Colonel's [68] quarters; and, no doubt taking me for a man of his own cloth, said: "*in farth ye shall want for nothing hare; I can geve ye a good bade,*" &c. I repeatedly thanked the honest fellow, and excused myself by saying that I should stop only an hour.

At the Colonel's quarters, I requested his waiter to inform him, that a stranger wished for the privilege of introducing himself. The waiter, being a spruce lad of seventeen, no doubt thought much better of himself than of me: it being not easy for one in common life, and of but little experience, to perceive a gentleman under so rough a garb as was mine. The servant probably represented me to the colonel as being either an Indian, or some old hunter from the Canada shore. The first idea might well exist: as, having travelled many days in the eye of a high wind, my complexion had become very dark. But, however this may have been, the servant returned with an answer, which rather moved my yankee spirit: the colonel wished to know whether I could not inform him, through the waiter, of what I wanted. I replied, emphatically, no; and added, tell colonel Pinkney again, that a stranger wishes for the *privilege* of introducing himself.

Before the servant's return, the Irishman had obtained a brother Pad to come and see the man in fur. After staring at me for a minute, the new-comer said —"*sare, ar ye last?*" I looked at him with a steady aspect, and replied, emphatically, lost?-lost? The fellow dropped his eyes and drew back, his comrade, at the same time, declaring, in true Irish lingo, "*by St. Patrick, ye'd batre mind what ye're about!— that mon has got more sanse in his latle fanger than we've in both of oure hades.*" This unexpected compliment was no less gratifying to my vanity than contributive to my amusement.

In a moment after, the colonel's waiter returned; [69] and, in rather a surly manner, said, "you may go in now." I approached the parlour door, which was nearly shut; and here placing myself upon its threshold, and gently pushing the door fully open, I made my bow —; at the same time taking off my cap, and bringing my rifle to an order. Whilst in this situation, I said, Sir, I have the misfortune to be an entire stranger to you; but I have taken the liberty to introduce myself. The colonel received and entertained me in a very liberal and polite manner; and even invited me to sojourn with him for some days. Having, however, conversed with him, upon a variety of topics, for about a half hour, I arose, told him my name, place of residence, destination, &c. and bade him farewell.

Opposite to Fort Niagara, on the Canada side of the river, is the town of Newark. It is a considerable settlement, and contains some handsome buildings. Just above this place on the same side of the Niagara, is situated Fort George.[28] From Lewistown to Lake Ontario the river Niagara may well be termed beautiful: it is about one third of a mile wide, is deep enough to float the largest ships, and its current moves silently about three miles an hour. The banks of the river present a pleasant appearance; and the Heights of Queenstown afford an interesting view of the adjacent country. The distance from Lewistown to fort Niagara is about seven miles. Above the latter are the famous five-mile meadows.[29] They are very small; but little objects become great when connected with great events; and, upon the same principle, little men create for themselves temples of fame, which the weight of a fly might crush.

---

[28] For an account of Fort George, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, note 7.

The village of Newark was about a quarter of a mile from this fort. It was settled by Loyalists immediately after the Revolution, and was then called West Niagara. When, in 1792, the province of Upper Canada was created, it was made the capital, and Governor Simcoe took up his residence there, changing the name to Newark. The Americans captured it (May, 1813), and held the place until the following December. Before leaving, Brigadier-general McClure ordered it to be burned, and all the houses, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were laid in ashes. When it was rebuilt after the war, the name Niagara was adopted.— Ed.

[29] Bordering the river, five miles above Fort Niagara, is a flat more than sixty feet lower than the surrounding territory. Here the British landed on the night of December 18, 1813, and the following day surprised and captured Fort Niagara.— Ed.

Upon leaving the fort I proceeded back to Lewistown; and, after dark, pursued my way towards Niagara Falls. Sometimes, when not near any habitation, [70] I travelled from day-light to twelve o'clock at night. My object in taking this course, was, so to shorten the nights, as to render my situation during them more secure, and less uncomfortable. So heavy, frequently, was the travelling, that with great exertion I could not, during this period, progress more than twenty miles. During my walk from the fort, along the bank of the river, I reflected upon the battle of Queenstown, the subsequent devastations of the enemy upon this part of our inland frontier, and the impolicy of our so generally employing militia. The next day I made a minute of my ideas upon the subject, and now introduce them with some additions. I am aware, however, that in taking this step, I shall oppose a national prejudice; but I do it because, however much a man may wish for the good opinion of his fellow-citizens, he ought to regard the interests of his country more. In every thing excepting in the too general employment of militia, our government has, in a greater or less degree, profited by experience. But in this particular, we seem to have been unduly influenced by our too general idea of a standing army:— an idea which at once calls forth ten thousand vague apprehensions, and condemns, without the ceremony of a hearing, every suggestion of reason. We are not children; and it is high time to put aside bug-bears. Our prejudices against standing armies are natural, and, in some respects, salutary; but in fleeing from the water, let us not run into the fire. Fact is sometimes less unpleasant than apprehension. Are we ignorant, that we have already, always have had, and always shall have a standing army? By a standing army, I mean a force raised for a permanent purpose, and having no exclusive relation to a state of war. Such a force, under the existing disposition of man, is essential to the security of every [71] government, however peaceful may be its policy. The only question upon this subject, is,—how large our regular army ought to be? Here we are to guard against many evils, which might proceed from either extreme:—from a very large, or a very small standing army.

By a very large standing army, the counsels of the nation might be too much influenced by the private interest and feelings of military men; unpatriotic ambition might employ this force to the worst of purposes; its maintenance would be inconsistent with rational economy; and an unnecessary part of our population would, comparatively, be kept in idleness.

But, both security and true economy require, that we should have an established, permanent, and well organized force, sufficiently numerous, and ready at a moment's warning to meet, with success, the invaders of our land; or to reduce, with promptitude, our Indian enemies. These are the first objects of such an establishment; the others are,—to furnish a national standard of military tactics; to make, in a short time, real soldiers of our militia, when a sudden necessity for a great army shall call them into actual service; and lastly, by mingling both kinds of force, to afford the militia support and confidence in the hour of battle.

As to our militia, they should be instructed for the sole purpose of enabling them more effectually to defend their own fire-sides, and of furnishing a nursery for the ranks of our regular army, whenever enlistments into them shall be necessary. Courageous as our militia are, they are not, generally speaking, an efficient force; and by employing them as a substitute for regular troops, we unnecessarily increase expence, sacrifice valuable lives, and expose at once, the safety and the reputation of the country.

[72] I have a very high opinion of the courage of my countrymen; but courage without discipline always, excepting in cases of bad conduct on the part of the enemy, results in general confusion, and individual sacrifice. By employing militia in actual service, we throw away the best and most productive part of our population. If the nation could see the dreadful aggregate of our militia, who have fallen victims to the dangers and diseases of the camp, merely because they were militia, there would be a general mourning; and the nation would forever abandon, in relation to this subject, its present policy. It is a system dictated by false ideas of economy, by a too general eulogy of our militia, and by groundless fears with respect to a regular force.

Our militia have, at times, performed wonders; but they have likewise often been the cause of defeat and disgrace.

We ought not unnecessarily to employ militia in actual service. To do so is to be careless of our population; and our population is our wealth. Great-Britain cannot support her subjects; she may well, therefore, sacrifice them in unnecessary wars. Her territory is comparatively small; whilst ours is almost unlimited. None of our citizens should be sent into the field of battle without the confidence and conduct, which discipline gives. Our militia, as I have said before, are the most valuable and productive part of our population; and they are sent into the field under the most unfavourable circumstances. Many of them have never slept a night from under their maternal roof. They have heard their fathers speak of other times, and their youthful hearts pant for the service of their country; but when the novelties of the camp, the music and the parade of military life cease to inspire them, they lose, for a time, much of their enterprize [73] and spirit. This very circumstance disposes them to disease; and this very circumstance tends to render disease fatal. They are entirely unaccustomed to the habits and employments of a camp; and their health is greatly exposed, by means of the number of troops collected, by being encamped in insalubrious situations, and by modes of living, to which they are entirely unaccustomed. In a time of peace, new recruits may be located in small numbers, in healthy situations, and the habits of the raw soldier be gradually changed.

But a militia force is not efficient. Discipline is, generally speaking, absolutely necessary to success. It produces in battle a sense of general, and in some measure of individual security. The soldier in an engagement knows, that he must take his chance, and he is willing to take it; but it is because he has a confidence in the general security of the army, that he stands his ground: for let him know that there will be a rout of his party, and he will at once become sensible of the *extraordinary* risque which he must run, and will endeavour to save himself by flight. In proportion to the discipline of an army will be the general and individual confidence of the troops. Besides, there is a great difference between individual and general courage. Individual courage is less common than is supposed. A party of men may fight pretty well in company, when, as individuals, they would, under similar circumstances, act a cowardly part; it is a sense of mutual support, which checks their fears, and furnishes them with confidence.

Where there is discipline,— where every individual feels that he is supported by all the rest,—this gives him confidence; and confidence is force.

Among militia the cowardice of a few will disorganize the whole; and when broken and hard pushed, [74] it is impossible for them to rally. But regular troops, when broken, can, in ordinary cases, readily form again; and, although their ranks may be thinned by the fire of the enemy, they are immediately filled, order is maintained, the army, though reduced, is still an army; and, although overpowered, they fight, not like a rabble, but like true soldiers. Their manouvres too, upon which the result of an engagement much depends, are performed promptly, and in order. Indeed, a soldier, in a well disciplined army, is a mere machine; he is a part of a perfect whole, has no will of his own, and moves only by the direction of his commanders. Had our force, at the attack upon the city of Washington, been of such a class, what a glorious defence would have been made![30] They would have planted themselves before it, and in the name of every thing dear, and sacred, and terrible, would have resisted its unprincipled invaders.

Our militia, as has been observed, sometimes perform wonders; but these are exceptions to a general rule; and exceptions are a poor ground for the establishment of a general principle. In a pell-mell contest, militia will fight with effect, because the mode of fighting is, on both sides, of the same kind. Here our militia would prevail over that of any other nation. And were our troops always well disciplined, they would always, excepting in cases of accident, overcome the regular troops opposed to them. These effects would arise from the people of this country possessing more animal vigour, and more moral force than any other people.

---

[30] August 17, 1814, a British force under Major-general Ross landed at the mouth of the Potomac and marched leisurely toward Washington. The city was entirely without defense. Two thousand men having been collected from the surrounding country and a thousand regulars assembled, the British were met (August 24) at Bladensburg—five miles northeast of Washington. Resistance was brief, the Maryland militia fled, followed by the remainder of the troops. Ross entered Washington without further opposition, and burned the public buildings.—Ed.

Our militia may soon be made good soldiers, because they are intelligent, and have already received some military instruction. I speak of them in comparison with the militia of other countries. Much discipline, and the scenes and avocations of the [75] camp should be familiar to soldiers, before they are brought into the field. By teaching them their first lessons, at the point of the bayonet, immense sacrifices are made, both of reputation and of blood.

The expence too of maintaining a militia force, is much greater than that of supporting a regular army. The former must be more numerous than the latter; and, of course, their wages and provisions must amount to more.

Our military establishment should, to say the least, be sufficiently large to enable us to move, whenever necessary, a well organized, well disciplined, and efficient force against our savage neighbours. Such a kind of force is the only proper one to meet the fatigues and dangers of Indian warfare. It is time for the nation to be heart-sick of inefficient military efforts, defeat and massacre. The Indians may be conquered; but the genius of a Jackson, thousands of Tennesseeans, much time, and a vast expence should not, in this country, be requisite to overthrow a few hundred Seminoles.[81] A well organized, and well appointed force of one thousand men could effect such an object in thirty days after leaving the proper place of rendezvous.— I say one thousand men, because a large force is more decidedly efficient than a small one. Militia, under ordinary circumstances, are put into the utmost confusion by the whoop, and yell, and onset, of Indians; and then a total butchery of them ensues. But let a regular force be employed, and order and firmness will resist the most furious, and unexpected attack; and the next moment they will march on to victory. Our celebrated fourth regiment at the battle of Tippecanoe proves this position.[89] But for them, this engagement would have resulted like those of Braddock and St. Clair.

---

[81] This is hardly a fair illustration. The difficulty was, that the Seminole stronghold was on Spanish territory, and it was Jackson's boldness in invading neutral territory, pursuing the Indians into the swamps, and seizing the Spanish posts, that ended the war. He entered Florida late in March, 1818; after five days' march, he reached and destroyed the Indian village, Fowltown; took possession of St. Marks, April 6, and then marched one hundred and seven miles across a swampy wilderness to Suwanee — the town of the Seminole chief Bowlegs. The Indians had been warned and had retreated, but he burned the village, and the war was ended as far as the Seminoles were concerned.— Ed.

The honour and the safety of the nation, demand [76] an ample and well organized military establishment. With the love of liberty, and every other circumstance in our favour, we have often, by only an equal force, been defeated; and this effect arose from our want of discipline. The nation must have such a force as can be depended upon:— such a force as will fear a departure from discipline more than the bayonet of the enemy. Such a force can be obtained only by offering to our best population, both officers and soldiers, such compensation and advantages as will, not only induce them to engage in the service of their country, but such as will be in themselves so fully adequate, as to render the service respectable. A considerable part of the expence of such an establishment, might be defrayed by employing the troops in making roads, and in other internal improvements. This business would keep them from idleness, inure them to labour, and render them acquainted with those implements, which are employed in pioneering, and in fortification.

---

[89] When on the morning of November 7, 1811, the Indians attacked General Harrison's camp and thus opened the battle of Tippecanoe, the militia were for a time thrown into confusion, while the Fourth United States Infantry under command of George Rogers Clark Floyd, stood their ground. After the campaign was ended the latter more than hinted that had it not been for them the whole force would have been massacred.— Ed.

The present administration are, no doubt, disposed to promote the respectability and safety of the nation; and the opposition have always been in favour of a considerable military and naval establishment. The experience gained by our last contest with Great-Britain cost us much; and it ought not to be forgotten. Both political parties in this country agree, that in peace we ought to be prepared for war. That I do, however, consider war between nations, seldom necessary, and a practice which places human nature upon the most humiliating ground, will fully appear when I reach, in the course of my tour, those fields of carnage which forcibly speak to the lone traveller.

The rapids of the river Niagara commence at a little distance above the celebrated falls, and terminate near the narrows opposite to Lewiston. Between [77] these two places the distance is about seven miles.

That I might have a full view of the scenery in the vicinity of the falls, I travelled, during the evening of my leaving Fort Niagara, only two miles beyond Lewistown. Early the next morning I moved on, glowing with anticipation. The lofty and rude banks of this part of the river, the deafning clamour of the falls, and the huge clouds of vapour which arose from them, inspired me with a new and indiscribable emotion. The day too was dark, windy, and wild. Yet the sun shone bright;—but the darkness did not comprehend it.

Owing, perhaps, to the excitement occasioned by these circumstances, I expected too much. I confess that I was disappointed, both with respect to the height of the falls, and the quantity of water propelled over them in a given time. There is, however, in their eternal roar, a nameless solitude. For ages this roar has been ceaseless; and it seems to speak of perpetual duration.

The rapids just above the falls, excited much interest. Dark, furious, and perplexed, they rush on as though eager for destruction. Here the imagination suddenly becomes aroused, and with a sombre, yet vivid glance, surveys the opposite, and renowned plains of Chippewa and Bridgewater;[a]— then returning to the rapids, it hears, in the voice of their fury, the half-drowned vow of the warrior, and sees, in their mist, his falling steed, and brandished falchion. The trees near the falls were all prostrated by the weight of congealed vapour; and seemed to worship, most devoutly, the Great Author of this grand spectacle. A lovely, yet fearful rainbow, arched the river below; and numerous gulls, were obscurely seen sailing through the thick exhalations which filled the whole space to [78] the Canada side.— Charon and his boat only were wanted to complete the scene.

How impressive is the grand in nature! It withdraws the human mind from the trifling concerns of time, and points it to its primeval dignity, and lofty destinies.

There are three divisions of the falls; and they are occasioned by two islands situated in the river. The whole describes a crescent. One of the islands is about four hundred yards wide, and the other about ten yards. Perhaps the whole width of the islands and falls, including the curvatures of the latter, is three quarters of a mile. The height of the principal falls is about one hundred and fifty feet; and the descent of the rapids, above the largest of them, is about sixty feet. One can hardly avoid personifying this rush of water; meeting, as it does, huge rocks and trees lying in every direction, and seeking, with a wild and furious velocity, a passage to the falls. Breaking and foaming, the rapids take a thousand courses, and with a restive spirit, seek the abyss below. The obstructions of the rapids appear to dispute their passage; and the whole scene is fury, uproar and destruction. The vapour, arising from the rapids, adds to the sublimity of the scene, by the obscurity with which it clothes their tremendous concussions.

---

[a] Major-general Brown having crossed Niagara River (July 3, 1814) and captured Fort Erie, General Riall marched to attack him. The two forces met (July 5) on the plains of Chippewa, midway between Forts George and Erie, and after a sharp skirmish the British retreated to Queenstown. The importance of the battle was overshadowed by that of Lundy's Lane, which occurred the same month.— Ed.

The icicles, pending from the sides of the banks contiguous to the falls, are, in the winter season, so tinged with the sulphurious particles which are mingled with their strata, as to present, when stricken by the rays of the sun, a scintillating and bluish glare.

A more particular account of the falls is deemed unimportant. I have endeavoured to give such a description as comported with my ideas and feelings, whilst in view of them. These falls are, no doubt, a great natural curiosity; and they will excite in all [79] much admiration and awe. But many of the descriptions which travellers have given of them, are erroneous in point of fact, and ridiculous in point of imagery. An English writer says, that their "noise and vapour would scarcely be equalled by the simultaneous report and smoke of a thousand cannon." It is true, that the roar of the falls can at times be heard for thirty miles, or perhaps further; and that their exhalations have been seen at the distance of ninety miles; but these circumstances exist only under peculiar states of the atmosphere, and the causes of them produce, upon the spot, a much less comparative effect. The falls, however, are indeed tremendous; and they constitute the only visible discharge of four vast inland seas.

Tradition says, that the falls of Niagara have, for a great length of time, been receding;—that they were originally situated at the foot of the rapids near Lewistown, a distance of seven miles from their present position.[84] This idea is no doubt correct. Masses of rock must, from time to time, have been shaken from the top and sides of the falls, by the continual abrasion of the rapids. It is to be presumed, that the falls will continue to move up towards Lake Erie; lessening the waters of the upper lakes, and increasing those of the lower, in proportion as the descent of the bed of the river above the present situation of the falls may be greater, and the obstructions in it less. In the course of many centuries, the falls will, probably, reach Lake Erie itself; in which case the upper lakes may be partially drained, and Lake Ontario be overflown. It has been asserted, that this lake fills once in seven years. As to the time, this must be a whim; but there is reason to believe that the lake occasionally fills, because its sources are numerous and great, its discharge is not very ample, and high north-east winds, which frequently prevail here, retard the [80] progress of the water towards the river St. Lawrence.

I may here more particularly notice Lake Ontario. Its length is about one hundred and seventy miles, and its breadth about sixty miles. It contains a great many islands, nearly all of which are situated at the easterly end of the lake. The principal islands are Amherst, Wolf, Gage, and Howe. The land on the north-east coast of this lake is low, and in some places marshy; near Lake Champlain, however, the country is somewhat mountainous.

---

[84] It is held that Niagara Falls have receded seven miles from their position when first known, the average yearly recession being from four to six feet.—ED.

One of the islands in the river Niagara, of which I have spoken as contributing to a division of the falls, is called Goat Island. It belongs to Judge Porter, and contains about eighty acres.[38] Its soil is excellent, and its timber valuable. From the main land to this island a bridge has recently been built; and I understand, that a hotel is soon to be erected on the island, for the accommodation of those who may visit the falls.

The whole length of the river Niagara is about thirty-eight miles. Its width is various. From Lewistown to the falls it is very narrow, its banks high, and its bed consists of solid limestone. Above the falls the river, in some places, is three miles wide, and contains several large islands. Here its banks are low. At the ferry, about two miles from Lake Erie, the river is only about one mile wide; and near the falls it again contracts, and thereby so compresses the water as greatly to increase its velocity. The average depth of the river is from twenty-five to thirty feet. The rapidity of its current, from the ferry to within a short distance of the falls, is about six miles an hour; but just above the former its motion is much quicker. The navigation of the river, above the falls, is very dangerous.

The principal of the islands just mentioned are [81] Navy, Grand, and Buck-horn. The growth of timber upon them is principally hard wood, and their soil is of a superior quality. Grand island is fifteen miles in length.

---

[38] Augustus Porter, brother of General Peter Porter, was born at Salisbury, Connecticut, in 1769. When twenty years of age, he left home for western New York, becoming a surveyor in the Phelps and Gorham Tract, and later in the Holland Purchase. In 1806, he removed with his family to Niagara Falls, where he continued to reside until his death in 1825. In association with three others, he formed the Portage Company, which leased from the state for fifteen years the exclusive privilege of transporting property across the portage between Lewiston and Schlosser. He was the first judge of Niagara County, opening his first term at Buffalo in 1808. The unusual length of his life enabled him to see the country, through which he had travelled for days without meeting a white man, develop into a populous agricultural and commercial region.— Ed.

From the falls of Niagara I proceeded to Buffalo. The distance from the former place to Black Rock, is about twenty-two miles.[86] The way to it is through a gloomy wood, between the trees of which one may occasionally see the river. Here the aspect was dreary. The snow was still very deep; the weather cold, windy and wild; the river presented a green appearance, was partially covered with masses of ice, and violently agitated by the spirit of an approaching storm. In this situation I met three Indians. We were thinking of a shelter.—We passed each other, only with a mute and sympathetic glance.

In the vicinity of the Lakes Ontario and Erie deeper snows fell, during the last winter, than had ever been known there; and the severity of the cold was without a parallel. Many people on the Lakes, and in the woods were frozen to death. A hunter, who went into the wood for an afternoon, was so frozen as to render necessary the amputation of his feet; and it was not uncommon, in the upper part of the state of New-York, to see men, in consequence of the frost, moving upon crutches.

It may be well for me here to mention some additional facts, in relation to the country through which I have passed since leaving Vermont. The face of it, from the Green Mountains to Niagara River, is rather level than mountainous; there are, however, many high and steep hills. On both sides of the Mohawk north and south, and from sixty to one hundred miles west from Albany, there are a number of considerable hills. In the vicinity of these, particularly near Scoharie, the soil is of an inferior [82] quality. West of this to Lake Ontario is an extensive level, interspersed with gradual and gentle swells. Some of the slopes are extensive, and result in spacious flats, many of which are very rich. This is particularly the case on the Genessee. The north-easterly part of the State is hilly, and even mountainous; but some portions of this section of the country, especially near Black River, is very fertile. West of the Genessee, and more decidedly so in the vicinity of Buffalo, the soil is not remarkably good; but on both sides of the river, along Lake Ontario, the land is much better. In various other parts of the state the soil is almost inexhaustibly rich; but, as is the case in all extensive tracts of country, there are here some poor lands. Generally speaking, the state is of immense force in point of agriculture; and the means of conveying it to market are ample. North and South, the Hudson, possessing a deep stream and gentle current, extends from New-York, the great maratime depo of the state, to the mountains between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. From about the centre of this river, north and south, the Mohawk reaches to within a very short distance of Lake Ontario; and between Lake Champlain and Lake Erie, east and west, there are a great many small lakes and rivers, which tender their waters to the public spirit of the state. It is the object of New York to draw to herself the trade of Vermont and the Canadas.

---

[86] For a brief account of Black Rock and Buffalo, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, notes 4 and 9.— Ed.

The western part of this state, was, during the revolution, inhabited by the Six Nations of Indians, among whom were the Mohawks, a fierce and powerful tribe. Most of these nations aided the British during this great contest; and the state, in many places, suffered much from their ravages.[87]

---

[87] The Oneida alone remained neutral, and in consequence suffered severely at the hands of the Mohawk, who burned their villages and drove them to seek shelter at Schenectady.— Ed.

The land in this state is generally well timbered. The principal growth is the several kinds of oak, [83] sugar and curled maple, walnut, beech, black and white ash, birch, hickory, bass, sassafras, and several other kinds. One cannot but regret the loss of so much excellent timber, as is destroyed in our new settlements by clearing.

All the western waters are well stored with fish and fowl. Those of the former in Lake Ontario are principally white fish, and black bass; and in some of its tributary streams, there are salmon; but they are of an inferior quality. In the west too, large quantities of sugar are made from the sap of the maple; and in the woods are found bee hives containing an almost incredible quantity of honey. A kind Providence has also provided for our brethren of the west, innumerable salt springs, which produce fine white salt. This article can, in some cases, be bought at the works, at twenty cents a bushel.

The day after leaving Niagara Falls, I arrived at Black Rock, proceeded on to Buffalo, and following a creek of this name, crossed a bay of Lake Erie on the ice. I should have crossed the Niagara at Black Rock, for the purpose of viewing Fort Erie, but the wind was so high that no boat could have reached the opposite shore. This was a great disappointment to me. My heart had prepared a laurel for the warrior's tomb.— The graves of Gibson and Wood tell us how to die for our country.[88] The private soldier too, humble in station, yet lofty in spirit, deserves the tribute of a tear.— I must say more in his behalf: comparatively speaking, his sufferings have been unnoticed, his gallantry unrewarded, his grave neglected. Who achieves our victories?— the private soldier. What fills the breach in the ramparts of his country?— his dead body. In eulogizing and rewarding the leaders of our armies, let us not forget the more frequent sufferings, and the equal merits of the private soldier.

---

[88] For the early history of Fort Erie, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, note 5.

Eleazer Derby Wood, born in New York City (1783), a graduate of West Point (1806), served in the West during the early part of the war, having conducted the defense of Fort Meigs, and commanded the artillery at the battle of the Thames. He was killed in General Brown's sortie to raise the siege of Fort Erie (September 17, 1814), and a monument to his memory was erected by that general at West Point.

James Gibson, who also died from a wound received in this sortie, was a native of Sussex County, Delaware, and a graduate of West Point. He had been in the battle of Queenstown Heights; was made a colonel, and in July, 1813, inspector-general of the army.— Ed.

[84] The battles of Chippewa, Niagara and Erie, are full of fame.

On my way to Buffalo, I passed Fort Schlosser,[89] and also a small battery at Black Rock. Here the traveller is sensibly impressed by the contrast, between the present solitary aspect of the adjacent country, and the scenes which it presented, during those military operations here, which furnish so bright a page in the records of American prowess:— then, the splendour and roar of battle!—Now, the death-sleep of the warrior, and the crimson shroud!

The distance from Black Rock to Buffalo is only two miles. The latter place was destroyed by the enemy during the last war;[90] but since then it has been rebuilt, and now contains many elegant houses. Buffalo is a considerable place for business. Its situation is central, with respect to the trade of the City of New-York, and that of the upper Lakes.

---

[89] In 1750, Joncaire built a stronghold at the upper end of the Niagara portage, which was known as Fort au Portage; but when, eight years later, the English advanced to invest Fort Niagara, he blew it up and retired across the river. At the close of the French and Indian War (1763), the English built a fort at this point, which they named Fort Schlosser, in honor of Captain Joseph Schlosser, its first commander.— Ed.

[90] In retaliation for the burning of Newark, General Riall, upon the capture of Fort Niagara (December, 1813) ordered his troops to destroy all American settlements on the Niagara frontier. Buffalo, Black Rock, Lewiston, Schlosser, and the friendly Seneca and Tuscarora villages were accordingly burned, and the people driven to seek shelter at Batavia.— Ed.

When I arrived at Buffalo, I had travelled twenty-four miles, without meeting any habitation, excepting a very few scattering log huts. Some of these were destitute of provisions; and at others of them a piece of bread, and a drink of water cost me two York shillings. Not far from this place, my dogs, knowing no law but that of nature, and having forgotten my lecture to them upon theft, helped themselves to the first repast presented, leaving their master to foot their bills. According to the phraseology of our Grand Juries, they very modestly "took, stole, and carried away" a piece of beef of the weight of three pounds, with an intention to convert the same to their own use. Hue and cry was immediately made, not by the Hundred, nor by the Posse Commitatus, but by the power of the kitchen. Notwithstanding carelessness, on the part of Mrs. Vixen, was the cause of this disastrous event; yet numerous apologies were tendered to her, and [85] her lord, for the purpose of appeasing their vindictive spirit: the thieves, at the same time, were dividing the spoil behind some neighbouring snow-bank. The value of this sacrifice to canine hunger, was of no consequence to the traveller; but in this rare instance, money could not purchase pardon; and my dogs were obliged to remain at some out-post until I renewed my march.

On Buffalo creek, which I have already mentioned and which is connected with Lake Erie, there is an Indian village inhabited by the Senecas. This tribe have a numerous settlement on the Genessee river, and several others in the north-westerly part of Pennsylvania; but their numbers are rapidly decreasing, and they are probably the most worthless tribe in North America.[41]

---

[41] The Seneca Indians were the most western of the Iroquois, and during the Revolutionary War had their principal villages on the Genesee River, one of them containing one hundred and twenty-eight houses. These were com-

In leaving Buffalo, I crossed, as before stated, a Bay of Lake Erie on the ice. The distance across this Bay is about eight miles. For four and twenty hours previous to my reaching the Lake, appearances indicated a violent storm. It commenced as I passed through Buffalo, and continued until after I had crossed the Lake. Such a snow storm I had never witnessed;— indeed such a snow storm can scarcely be imagined. There was, for hours, a constant whirl of snow, without the least cessation. At noon it was night; the way could not be seen:— there was danger of perishing.

My arrival on the other side of the Bay excited much curiosity.

Lake Erie was, at this time, fast bound in ice. The whole country, excepting the evergreens, presented the aspect of perpetual congelation. The freezing of Lake Erie probably arises, in part, from its being shallow. Its greatest depth does not exceed fifty fathoms.

This Lake derives its name from the Eries, a tribe [86] of Indians once dwelling upon its borders.[*] The scenery of its banks is rather picturesque. The traveller sees many points of land extending into the Lake; much level country; and a few considerable hills. This Lake is

---

pletely destroyed by Sullivan's expedition (1779); but although the English invited them to cross into Canada with the Mohawk, they refused to go, and a considerable number settled near the mouth of Buffalo and Cattaraugus creeks. When in 1797 the Holland Company purchased the Indian title to their lands, the Seneca retained reservations at these points, also the Allegheny and Tonawanda reservations already mentioned (*ante*, p. 153), and five smaller ones in the Genesee valley. In 1838 pressure was brought to bear by the Ogden Land Company, and certain chiefs signed a treaty ceding their lands in New York, Congress at the same time granting them lands in Indian Territory. The body of the people, however, refused to move; the New York and Pennsylvania Friends interested themselves in their behalf, and they were allowed to remain.— Ed.

[*] The history of the tribe known as the Erie or Cat Nation is obscure and involved, and their habitat uncertain. See *Jesuit Relations*, viii, p. 305; xxi, pp. 313-315.— Ed.

about three hundred miles in length, and seven hundred in circumference. Following the course of it, on the American side, the distance is full four hundred miles. The growth of timber here is, generally, similar to that east of Buffalo; but the soil is of greater fertility, and of easier cultivation. It contains too, considerable limestone; and much animal and vegetable substance. On the American side of the Lake there is an abundance of game.

The islands of the Lake are numerous. Some of them are Grose Isle, Isle Bois Blanc, St. George's, Ship, Sandusky, Turtle, Put-in-Bay, and the Three Sisters.

In some of these islands there are subterraneous passages, which abound with petrifactions. In that called Put-in-Bay there is a considerable cave, which I shall by and by describe.

On the 26th of February I had commenced the long and solitary way, bounded on my right by Lake Erie, presenting an ocean of ice, and on my left by a vast wilderness. In looking back I remembered toils and privations, which had put my resolution to the test; and in contemplating the prospect before me, the swamps of the Sandusky and Miami forcibly presented themselves. Along the American side of the Lake, especially the lower part of it, there are many townships; some of them, however, are very inconsiderable, some are known only on paper, and between the former are large districts of country in a wilderness state. Some of the settlements are visited in the summer season by small vessels on the Lake.

[87] In travelling from Buffalo to Detroit, I marched upon the Lake about fifty miles. Sometimes I travelled near its margin, and sometimes at the distance of thirty or forty miles from it. These numerous courses were taken, to enable me to see various parts of the country, and also for the purpose of obtaining game.

The New-York line, west of Buffalo, is about forty miles from this place. The principal creeks within this line, and which are connected with Lake Erie are Eighteen Mile, Catheraugus and Silver Creek. Near to the mouth of the Catheraugus is another settlement of Seneca Indians.

The State of Pennsylvania is bounded by this Lake for the distance of about fifty-miles. The land here is very good. Presque Isle, situated about twenty miles from the New-York line, is a considerable village, and will become a place of importance.[48]

Until about the first of March the weather was uninterruptedly severe; and although the country is generally infested with bears and wolves, and furnishes almost every kind of game, I had not, previous to this period, seen any thing, relative to this particular, worthy of remark. All nature, fast bound in the icy arms of winter, was mute. I looked towards the Lake, but it spake not. I asked a reason of the trees, but even their branches did not whisper to me.— The traveller was the only living thing. Upon the bosom of the Lake he could see, that in the very frolic of its waves, a sudden and bitter chill had fixed in disappointment the smile of its delight.— Thus man, in the unsuspecting season of happiness, feels the deadly pressure of unrelenting sorrow.

Leaving the Pennsylvania line, I entered the celebrated Connecticut Reserve, called New Connecticut.

[88]The original charter of Old Connecticut embraced a large section of that part of the North-West Territory, which lies south of Lake Erie. In 1786 this state ceded to the general government all her territory west of Pennsylvania, excepting the tract now constituting New Con-

---

[48] For the early history of Presqu' Isle, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 62.— Ed.

necticut. This tract is bounded North by Lake Erie, South and West by Ohio, and East by Pennsylvania. It is 120 miles long and 72 broad; making about 4,000,000 of acres. The country here is level, with occasional swells; and the soil is a rich loam and clay mixed with sand. It contains no small stones; but ledges and quarries are numerous. It abounds in various kinds of hard wood; but pine is seldom seen here. With emigrants, this tract of land is in high repute.

The principal rivers in New Connecticut is the Grand, and Cayahoga.[44] The latter enters Lake Erie about forty miles east of the river Huron. On its banks is situated a village, inhabited by the Cayuga Indians. The river is navigable for boats; and its mouth is wide and deep enough to receive considerable vessels from the Lake. The mouth of Grand River is about seventy yards wide; but there are obstructions to its navigation, particularly at its mouth.

Early in March I experienced a long storm of rain. My garments, after a while, became wet; which circumstance rendered my situation uncomfortable. I travelled, during the whole of the storm, in the belief that continual motion was necessary to preserve my health. No one can take cold in the worst of weather, during an active arterial circulation. It is in a sudden check of this impetus, that severe colds are experienced, and diseases contracted.

Having passed several small rivers, besides the Grand and Cayahoga, I arrived, on the 4th of March, at Rocky River. The weather was still rather [89] moderate, and thinking it would be dangerous to cross this stream upon the ice, I passed along its southerly side and went upon the Lake. This course was fortunate, inasmuch as it placed me in a very interesting situation. It was late in the afternoon when I reached the Lake; and it was my intention to travel upon it until the evening, and then pass into the woods. Soon after leaving the river, however, I found the banks of the Lake very high and steep. I pushed on. This tremendous ridge of perpendicular rock proved to be several miles in length. I was not aware, that it was the celebrated scene of storms, shipwrecks, and savage offerings. Night approached. The prospects around me were sublime. I was upon a glare of ice. Upon one side was a congealed ocean, apparently unlimited, and on the other a gloomy bank fifty feet in height, entirely perpendicular, and pending from which were huge icicles.— I speak within bounds: they were twenty feet in length, and as large as a hogshead. The severity of the weather had been unparalleled. It had rained,— it had frozen. The night was dark. To ascend the banks was impossible:— they seemed to be the everlasting battlements of nature! The weather was still moderating; the ice of the Lake cracking in every direction, and producing a noise like distant thunder. The solitude of my situation was profound. I was in the midst of a world, and it appeared to have been made but for one man. I walked with caution, hoping yet to meet a ravine in the banks. At length I heard, at a little distance, a sullen stream pouring its scanty waters into the hollow Lake. I paused,— was bewildered,— was lost. The stars presented a gloomy aspect, and shed an ineffectual light. My situation was truly enviable! — There is a charm in desolation; and in the season of danger, the human [90] soul triumphs in the conviction of its own indestructibility.

---

[44] For the Grand, Cuyahoga, and Rocky Rivers, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, notes 70, 72, and 73.— Ed.

After being apprised of the existence of the stream, I, with much caution, moved upon my hands and knees towards the shore, presuming that there was a valley through which the stream entered the Lake, and by which I might reach the summit of the bank. I soon affected this object, and entered the wood. I did not, however, sleep much: my imagination had become active, and I passed most of the night in weaving the web of fancy.

The adventure of the preceding evening was calculated to call forth much *enthusiasm*. This, I know, is a term which alarms the ear of dullness; but the indulgence of this native quality of the heart is not inconsistent with the due influence of the understanding. What is it but an admiration of those principles of mind, and those views of nature, which may be traced to that Being in whom is the perfection of every great and good attribute? Upon a vicious, or mean object it never looks but with the eye of compassion and sorrow. I may be permitted to enlarge a little upon this subject.

Enthusiasm is the reverse of mental and moral insensibility. In the home of the heart it trims the lamp of intellect, and pants after true greatness. In mind it perceives perennial existence, and in matter only the temporary and humble dwelling place of its discipline. Immortality is the holy land of its aspirations, and disinterestedness the altar of its sacrifices. In self controul it displays its power, and the obedience of the passions is the trophy of its victories. All Nature is the temple of its worship, and in the inspiration of its hopes it finds the source of its humility. During the convulsions of the physical world, it sits in the composure of faith, and in the awe of admiration. In religion it dwells with [91] humble rapture upon the Star of Bethlehem, and gratefully acknowledges the spirit of grace. In philanthropy it sees in every man a brother, and loves to do him good. In patriotism it views, in the tombs of ancestors, the sanctity of home; and in the protection of innocence, it courts a bloody sacrifice. In love too, its happiness is productive of piety, and the tenderness of its sentiments is equalled only by the purity of its motives.

The day after leaving the Lake the weather was cold and windy. After travelling some miles in a southwesterly direction, I entered a beautiful and solitary wood. It had more the appearance of an improved forest than of a wilderness. In this wood I sat down to make some remarks in my journal. I generally stopped two or three times a day for this purpose;— sometimes sitting on a stump, sometimes under a tree, and sometimes by the side of huge masses of ice near the shores of the Lake. A record of passing scenes and events should immediately be made by the traveller. By delay, their impressions upon his mind become less legible, and then *art* must supply, in some measure, the place of nature.

The rain storm, and the moderate weather of which I have spoken, covered many places in this part of the country with water to the depth of several feet. Here low grounds and prairies made their appearance, and wading over them, through snow, and water, and ice, was both laborious and painful.

The weather having again become cold, the surface of the snow congealed to a hard crust, so that my moccasons and socks became completely worn through, and my feet much swolen. I deemed it advisable, as the remains of my moccasons and socks were no security to my feet, and at the same [92] time retarded my progress, to throw them aside and travel barefooted. From this mode of travelling I found no serious inconvenience. At length, however, my feet swelled to an alarming size; but believing that rest alone would remove the evil, and not being willing to afford myself much, I concluded to abandon them to that possible remedy, which is incident to the crisis of disease and the influence of habit. I now travelled with even more industry than before; and in the course of a few days the swelling was entirely reduced: this experiment, however, was not very pleasant; especially, after a few hours rest.

I am confident that people, who are exposed to want both of food and clothing, and also to pain, suffer much less than is imagined; and particularly so if their minds are engaged in any interesting undertaking. Man may, by habit, render almost any situation tolerable; and I agree with Seneca, that if our sufferings are not very great we can bear them with firmness; and if they are very great we shall soon be relieved from them by death. During at least one half of the time employed in performing my tour from New-Hampshire to Detroit, I was afflicted by the tooth-ache; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and also the toils and privations which I experienced, I do not remember a moment, during this period, in which I did not possess a balance of pleasure. The solitude which surrounded me, the novelty of my situation, and the interesting prospects which frequently presented themselves, often rendered me very happy.

In the course of a day or two after adopting my new mode of travelling, I was so fortunate as to meet with several Indians, and of them I purchased a pair of deerskin shoes. Indian women often accompany the men in their hunting expeditions; and [93] one may frequently see them in the woods employed in dressing Deer and Elk skins, and in making shoes of them. They use the sinews of animals and the fibres of the inner bark of trees instead of thread.

The weather was still rather severe, and the water beneath the surface of the snow and ice exceedingly cold;

my health, however, continued good; and the only difficulty with which I had to contend was a want of provisions. Sometimes I could not seasonably find game; sometimes could not meet with even an Indian cabin; and sometimes even here scarcity and want existed.

In this part of the country, although generally level, I met with several very steep hills.

Soon after passing Black River,[48] an inconsiderable stream, the weather again became more moderate; and the sun shone pleasantly. I reached a hunting ground; and here game was very plenty. Black and grey squirrels, partridges, quails, and deer were numerous. Five or six of the latter were situated not far from me in a little thicket. My garments of fur caused them to look upon me with rather an inquisitive than fearful aspect. I had never seen wild deer before, and they appeared too innocent for death. I was only half disposed to shoot them; and whilst I was musing upon this interesting group, they saw my dogs, and bounded delightfully over the hills and rivulets. My dogs voluntarily pursued them, and brought one of these guileless animals to the earth.

It is truly unpleasant to survey that lengthy, and complicated chain of destruction, which supports animal life. From the animalcula of physical nature to Behemoth himself, there is, mutually or exclusively, perpetual carnage. Man, although a compound being;— altho' possessing a moral as well as a physical nature, is the great devourer. He revels, in [94] pride and in luxury, upon the animal world; and after feasting high, employs himself in the butchery of his own species. Such is the aberrative power incident to his free agency.

The destruction of animal life is necessary to the security, and perhaps to the health of man; but the life and comfort of animals should never be trifled with. It is the only life which they can live; their little light, once put out, is extinguished forever.

---

[48] This stream drains Medina and Lorain counties, Ohio, entering Lake Erie about thirty miles west of Cleveland.— Ed.

Upon leaving the hunting ground I passed Vermillion River.[46] It is inconsiderable, but abounds with fish. The weather had so moderated, that there was much danger in passing it on the ice. The soil near this river is of a very fertile quality. It is diversified with levels and gentle swells; and is covered with a valuable growth of hard wood. The sugar maple greatly abounds here, and vast quantities of sugar and molasses are produced from its sap. Here too are frequently found bee-hives containing from 100 to 200 pounds of honey. Many kinds of nuts also grow here in great abundance; and the swine in the woods are very numerous. The boars sometimes become wild and fierce, and are hunted with horses and dogs.

I have observed, that the land, in the vicinity of Buffalo, is not so good as that which is east of it. The soil appears to become better and better after crossing the Pennsylvania line; and especially after reaching Vermillion River. Previous to my arrival here, however, I could, owing to the snow, judge only from the situation of the land, the growth of timber upon it, and from information occasionally obtained.

On the 8th of March I passed Huron River.[47] The weather was moderate, the snow and ice melted very fast, and I crossed a rapid freshet on logs. The traveller, after having long marched through deep snows, and after having experienced all the severities [95] of winter, sees, in the thawing winds of spring, the hand of a watchful and kind Providence. "He casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold! He sendeth out his word, and melteth them; he causeth his wind to blow and the waters to flow."

---

[46] For the Vermillion River, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 76.— Ed.

[47] The Huron River rises in northern Ohio, and flowing northwestward empties into Lake Erie about nine miles east of Sandusky.— Ed.

Soon after leaving this river I crossed vast prairies, all of which are rich, but some of them are too wet for cultivation. The best of these prairies are from two to three feet deep, consisting of a rich black mould, and having a pan of limestone. A team of four yoke of oxen is necessary to plough them. The most proper series of crops is, first wheat, secondly corn, and then, lying fallow, the land will produce a spontaneous growth of fine grass, which answers every necessary purpose of fodder in this part of the country. Innumerable cattle may be fed on these prairies in summer, and, generally, they may subsist here during a considerable part of the winter. An unlimited quantity of coarse hay may be cut here; growing, as it does, spontaneously, and in great abundance. By cutting it, the growth becomes less coarse, and more seculent and palatable.

Cattle in this part of the country are, in the summer season, very fat; but a great many of them die of disease, and often very suddenly. Last winter they suffered greatly from the severity of the season, and the want of fodder; and during the early part of last spring many of them were in a perishing condition.

Crops of wheat here are very good; and the best of the land produces from 40 to 60 bushels of corn an acre without manure. Indeed manure is never used here. In time, however, the natural fertility of the soil will become less; and farmers would do well, even here, to yard their cattle.

At present, provisions in this part of the country [96] command a high price. The numerous emigrations thither produce a scarcity. Along the south shore of Lake Erie the markets will, for some time to come, be very good. Depos of provisions are established here by the farmers of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; and vessels on the Lake transport them, during the spring and fall, to Detroit and other places. Although the cultivator, in the immediate vicinity of Detroit, meets with every encouragement, agriculture there is very little attended to; the consequence is, that produce to a large amount finds, from abroad, a ready market in that place.

I now consider myself in that part of the state of Ohio which lies west of the Connecticut Reserve.

Of considerable portions of the country, which are situated between the Huron and Sandusky rivers, I entertain a favourable opinion; other parts of it, however, are too swampy for cultivation. There are many fine tracts from the Pennsylvania line to the last mentioned place.

The Deer in the vicinity of the prairies, of which I have been speaking, are very large. Some of them weigh from 150 to 200 pounds. Wild turkeys too, are here numerous, and they sometimes weigh from 20 to 30 pounds. But facts like these unduly affect the imagination. These kinds of game cannot always be found; the toils of the chase are frequently unrewarded; and many who have settled in the west with lively feelings upon this topic, have abandoned this precarious source of profit.

For several days I have been employed in crossing vast prairies. The weather continued moderate, the snow, water, and mud were deep, and wading laborious. I frequently met with considerable freshets, and the banks of the creeks were overflown. Here I saw vast flocks of wild geese flying towards [97] Sandusky Bay. Their hoarse notes, proceeding from the misty air, rendered even more solitary a trackless and almost illimitable plain of high and coarse grass. I was repeatedly lost in these prairies; and found it necessary to calculate my way by compass and maps.

Within about twenty miles of the famous Black Swamp,[48] I entered, late in the afternoon, a dark wood in a low and wet situation. The weather being moderate, I continued to travel until very late in the evening. About 12 o'clock at night my dogs contended with a herd of wolves and were both slain. The winter, until within a few days, having been very severe, the wolves, probably, were very hungry and ferocious. It is said, that in this part of the country they are very numerous and bold. From the manner in which the contest commenced, I am inclined to believe, that the wolves, having issued from their dens, had come to feast themselves. Previous to the rencounter, all was perfect silence. My dogs were near me, and without the least noise, which I could perceive, the war commenced. It was sudden and furious.

I had, for hours, been experiencing a most excruciating tooth-ache; and my sense of hearing was considerably affected by it. But when the contest began, I, for a moment, forgot my infirmities, seized my gun, encouraged my dogs, and marched forth in the most lively expectation of achieving some great victory. It being, however, very dark, the bushes being thick, and the voice of the battle beginning to die upon my ear, a sense of my sufferings returned, and I sought repose in my tent. But I found no repose there: the whole night was employed in endeavouring to assuage with gun powder and salt, the only applications in my power, an almost insufferable tooth-ache.

---

[48] The Black Swamp, extending from the Sandusky to the Maumee River, and covering an area of over one hundred and twenty miles in length and an average of forty in width, was entirely avoided by early settlers in northern Ohio. By the Indian treaty signed at Brownstown (1808), the United States government acquired a strip of land to make a road through the swamp; but nothing further than the preliminary surveys being accomplished, the land was later transferred to the State, and the first road completed in 1827. It was very little settled before 1830. In accordance with a state law passed in 1859, a system of public ditches was introduced, which rapidly drained the swamp and transformed it into a fertile agricultural region.— Ed.

[98] My dogs never returned from the strife. I had lost the faithful, and disinterested partners of my toil. I could not leave so interesting a place. For two nights and one day I remained upon the spot;— but for what, I did not know. In the listlessness of sorrow I fired my rifle into the air. At length I realized, that my dogs had fallen nobly; and the sentiments of grief found a solace in the dictates of pride.

As the fate of my dogs is interesting I may be permitted to spend a moment in their praise.

They were not, like the hounds of Sparta, dewlaped and flewed; but they possessed the acuteness of these, with the courage of the mastiff. They were very large, and accustomed to the strife of the woods. Tyger was grave and intrepid. Small game excited in him no interest; but when the breath of the foe greeted him in the breeze, he surveyed, at a glance, and with a lofty aspect the surrounding wood. Slow, steady, and firm in pursuit, he remained silent until the object of his search was found; and then, a cry more terrible than his

> "Was never hallowed to,
> Nor check'd with horn in Crete or Thessaly."

He had lost an eye in the battles of the mountains, and was, in every sense of the word, a veteran.

Pomp was active, generous, affectionate, and in courage and perseverance unrivalled. In the night, it was his custom to pillow his head upon his master's breast; and he ever seemed concerned to guard him from the dangers of an unsheltered repose.

Perhaps too I may here notice some traits in the character of the wolf. The countenance of this animal evinces both cunning and ferocity. The length of his body is generally about four feet, the legs from fifteen to eighteen inches, the circumference of [99] the body from two and an half to three feet, and the tail sixteen inches in length. The colour of the wolf is a mixture of light and brown with streaks of grey. His hair is long, rough, and very coarse; his tail is bushy, something like that of a fox, his body is generally gaunt, his limbs are muscular, and his strength very great: with perfect ease he can carry a sheep in his mouth.

The cunning and agility of this animal are equal to his strength; and his appetite for animal food is exceedingly voracious;— so much so, that he often dies in pining for it. When his hunger is very imperious, even man becomes the object of his ferocity. His sense of smelling is so acute, that at the distance of three leagues, a carcass will attract his attention. The wolf is a very solitary animal; and never associates with his species but for the purpose of attacking a human being, or some animal of which he is individually afraid; and when the object of the combination is effected, each retires sullenly to his den.

It appears by the early stages of English history, that wolves in England have been so formidable as to attract the particular attention of the King; and even as late as Edward the first, a superintendant was appointed for the extirpation of this dangerous and destructive animal.

I may add that not long after the loss of my dogs I reached, just before night, a solitary log hut; and in about an hour after a wolf howled at the door.

Leaving the field of battle, I moved on towards Sandusky rapids. My health had suffered by fatigue and want of sleep. The weather was still moderate; and the water, rushing through the vallies, seemed to sing the requiem of my lost companions. My lone steps too, through the streams, forcibly reminded me of their absence.

[100] In the course of the day I passed over the low and swampy grounds, and the prospect became a little diversified. A few small yet steep hills presented themselves. Here the soil is fertile and the growth of timber elegant; upon one spacious rise of ground near these, however, there are a few scattering oaks, and the soil is thin and sterile.

The following night I heard the howling of some beasts of prey, and apprehended an attack. I newly primed my gun and pistols; but my ragged domicil was not invaded.

A day or two after, I reached Sandusky Rapids.[49] The land in the vicinity of this river is very fertile. The hill, a little west of the river, is high, and its summit constitutes a vast plain of rich land. A town, I understand, is here to be laid out. The soil below the hill, on both sides of the river, is also very rich; but the situation is too low to be pleasant, and must, I think, be unhealthy. On the west of the river are a few scattering houses. The river at the rapids is about thirty rods wide; and when I crossed it, it was full of floating ice. The velocity of the current was great. Sandusky Bay is situated about eighteen miles below the rapids; and Upper Sandusky lies about forty miles above them.[50] Upon this river are situated several tribes of Wyandot and Seneca Indians; and the

---

[49] These rapids of the Sandusky River were located about eighteen miles from where the river empties into Sandusky Bay, Lake Erie.— Ed.

[50] Upper Sandusky was formerly the seat of a Wyandot settlement. Near there, Crawford was defeated by the Indians (June, 1782) and subsequently tortured to death. General Harrison built a temporary fort at that point during the War of 1812-15. For the Wyandot villages on the Sandusky, see Weiser's *Journal*, volume i of our series, note 26.— Ed.

United States derived from them by the treaty of Greenville, two small tracts of land lying upon the banks of the above mentioned river and bay.[61]

At a little distance from the western bank of the lower rapids of this river is Fort Sandusky, which was, during the late war, so nobly and effectually defended by the youthful Croghan.[62] I examined this post with much attention and interest. Its means of annoyance must have been in itself, inconsiderable; but the genius of a Croghan, supported by one [101] hundred and sixty patriotic and unyielding spirits, defended it against the repeated and embittered efforts of five hundred British regulars, and seven hundred Indians, aided by several gunboats and some pieces of artillery. The beseiged had only one six pounder. This they masked until the enemy leaped into the ditch, and then it swept them with dreadful carnage. This defence is beyond praise.

After remaining at Sandusky a few hours I entered the celebrated Black Swamp. It was in its very worst state. In my journal I observe, that I will not attempt to describe it. There was an unusual quantity of snow and ice upon the ground; and the weather being moderate the water rapidly increased. The distance across the swamp is forty miles. The wading was continually deep, the bushes thick, and the surface of the earth frozen and full of holes. What was worse than all, the ice, not yet separated and nearly strong enough to bear one, was continually breaking and letting the traveller into water from two to four feet in depth. The creeks there too are numerous, and the ice in them was broken up. The freshets were great, the banks of the creeks overflown, and the whole country inundated. In proceeding through the swamp I was constantly employed in making great exertions for nearly four days. The weight of my dress and baggage was a very great incumbrance to me; but my buffalo pantaloons were a defence against the thick yet brittle ice through which I was continually breaking.

---

[61] For the events leading up to the treaty, see *ante*, note 11. It was signed (August 3, 1795) by ninety chiefs and delegates from twelve tribes, and established the following Indian boundary line: up the Cuyahoga River and across the Tuscarawas portage to a point near Fort Laurens, thence southwest to Laramie's Station, thence northwest to Fort Recovery, and thence southwest to the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River.— Ed.

[62] This stockade, better known as Fort Stephenson, was constructed in the spring of 1813. In August following, it was attacked by General Proctor as here related. The British troops stormed it fiercely for two hours, all their officers and a fifth of their men being killed or wounded.

George Croghan, a nephew of George Rogers Clark, was born at Locust Grove, near Louisville, Kentucky, November, 1791. Graduating from William and Mary's College (1810) he entered the army and took part in the battle of Tippecanoe. He so distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Meigs that he was promoted to the rank of major, and placed in charge of Fort Stephenson. For his gallant defense of this post, he was voted a medal by Congress. After an unsuccessful attack on Fort Mackinac (1814), he left the army for a short time and acted as postmaster at New Orleans. In 1823 he re-entered the army, was made inspector-general with the rank of colonel, and later served with distinction in the Mexican War. See Williams, "George Croghan," in Ohio Archæological and Historical Society *Publications*, xii, pp. 375-409.— Ed.

At the edge of the swamp I saw an Indian passing across a neck of land on the Sandusky; and I hailed him, for the purpose of obtaining some information as to the best way through this trackless wild; but he either could not speak English, or pretended that this was the case. It is said that they [102] frequently do so. Soon after, I met with three Indians, together with one white man. The white man was a little intoxicated, and had, they said, engaged to do some work for them but had run away. Whilst I was obtaining from them information as to my course, the white man, falling a little behind, again deserted. My rifle was immediately seized by the Indians for the purpose of shooting him; but by great exertions I held it, until the man was out of sight, and then they desisted and pursued him. I marched on.

Towards evening I found a small elevation of land, and there encamped for the night. My little fire appeared like a star on the bosom of ocean. Earth was my couch, and my covering the brilliant canopy of Heaven. After preparing my supper, I slept in peace; but was awakened, at day-light, by a high wind accompanied by rain. Ere I arose, the lofty trees shaken by the tempest seemed ready to fall upon me. During the evening, such was the stillness of the situation, and such the splendour of the firmament, that nothing but fatigue could have checked the current of reflection. How great are the advantages of solitude!— How sublime is the silence of nature's ever active energies! There is something in the very name of wilderness, which charms the ear, and soothes the spirit of man. There is religion in it.— The children of Israel were in the wilderness, and it was a type of this world! They sought too the Land of Promise, and this was a type of Heaven.

The next morning I renewed my exertions. The weather was lowering and cold. I found it necessary to wade through water of the depth of four or five feet, and my clothes were covered with icicles. About noon I arrived at a creek, a little to the east of Charon river,[88] and found much difficulty and danger [103] in crossing it. The channel of the creek was very deep, and its banks overflown, on both sides, for a quarter of a mile. After wading some way, I reached the channel, and by the aid of a fallen tree and some floating logs crossed it; the current, however, was so rapid, that upon the fallen tree lying under the surface, I could scarcely keep upon my feet: a single mis-step would have been fatal.

Immediately after crossing the channel, I found the water about four feet deep; and its depth soon increased so as to reach my shoulders. Here I stopped to survey my situation. Although the trees in this place were large and scattering, I could not perceive the land. The prospect reminded me of the Lake of the Woods. After wading up and down for some time, in the hope of finding the water less deep, I concluded to re-cross the channel and endeavour to obtain a fordable place in some other direction; but in attempting to return, a large and decayed log, upon which I had floated and upon which the impression of my feet had been left, could not be found. I was here completely bewildered. Alone, nearly up to my neck in water, apparently in the midst of a shoreless ocean, being too without my dogs, which used to swim around me when crossing such places, my situation was rather unpleasant; the novelty of it, however, together with my apparent inability to extricate myself produced a resourceless smile. After a while, I repassed the channel of the creek; and finally, by much labour and with great hazard, reached the western shore.

---

[88] Portage River, entering into Sandusky Bay from Wood County.— Ed.

During a part of this day it rained; and so solitary was the aspect of every thing around me, that a very eloquent idea of the pious orator of Uz naturally presented itself:—

> "To cause it to rain on the earth, where no man is;—
> On the wilderness, where there is no man."

[104] The next day the weather was severe. The ice among the bushes had become harder; but still it would not bear me, and the water was exceedingly cold. Icicles formed upon my clothes almost immediately. I was continually wading in a greater or less depth of water during the whole day; and sometimes travelled for miles in three or four feet of it without cessation. Travelling through such a depth of water where the ice breaks at almost every step is exceedingly laborious. During this day too, I passed several deep and rapid creeks in the usual

way. At dusk I fell in with about twenty Indians of the Wyandot Tribe. They were encamped on a small rise of land which, however, was rather wet. They had recently come from the vicinity of Fort Meigs, and were travelling to some hunting ground. Their condition was deplorable. They had, the day before, buried one of their company, another of them was very sick, and they had no provisions. I had but a trifle myself, and the wants of the sick Indian rendered me supperless.

These Indians surveyed me with rather a grave and distant aspect; but with one of them, who could speak English, I became well acquainted. In the course of the evening some strips of bark were prepared to keep me from the ground; but my clothes being wet, and having no covering it was impossible for me to sleep. Indeed so cold was the night, that the next morning the swamp was frozen very hard. My Indian friend called himself Will Siscomb; and with him I conversed respecting the Great Spirit. During the night I perceived, that the poor Indians suffered much from cold, and from the smoke of their fire. They, however, beguiled the time by their rude songs.

Very early the next morning I left this tawny group, and in the course of the day arrived at Fort Meigs.

[105] Here the Black, or Miami Swamp terminates; but for fifty miles east of this tract, and for the same distance west of Fort Meigs, the country is generally level, covered with trees, bushes, and long grass, and in the spring of the year very wet.

I had long been wishing to see Fort Meigs; and there I rested, for an hour, my weary feet.[64] The Fort is very large, and its situation is somewhat commanding. The

---

[64] Across the river from the present Maumee City, Henry County, Ohio. This fort, built in February, 1813, was twice besieged during that year by the British and their Indian allies under Tecumseh, but was not captured.— Ed.

Miami of the Lake runs about a half mile west of the Fort; and the river is here about one third of a mile wide.

I have understood, of late, that the courage and conduct of General Harrison, who commanded at Fort Meigs in the course of the last war, was questionable. I shall take the liberty to express a few ideas upon this topic, because it is natural for one to advocate the cause of a brave man, whose courage has been denied, and that too, perhaps, by the most contemptible combination of cowardice and envy.

The spirit of detraction is at once malignant and cowardly. It possesses the capacity to injure, and at the same time the means of shielding itself from detection. A single breath may tarnish the brightest character; the world, therefore, for its own sake, as well as for the sake of justice and humanity, should listen with a jealous ear to the tongue of slander.

I never had the honour of seeing General Harrison; but what, I ask, are the grounds of the charge against him? General Harrison was a fellow soldier and disciple of the wary and energetic General Wayne. His knowledge of military tactics is very extensive, and his courage, for ought I can see, is of a high order. Up to the time of the bloody battle of Tippecanoe, the government, no doubt, thought him brave; and here he was truly so. At Fort Meigs too, he undauntedly maintained [106] his position, in the midst of a wilderness, surrounded by hordes of savages, headed by Tecumseh, and supported by regular troops commanded by the blood-thirsty Proctor. Afterwards he met and defeated the enemy at the River Thames.

Probably his courage was questioned, because he did not, whilst unprepared, press on to Detroit, and expose his forces to that destruction which befel those of Winchester.[55] Many an ignorant militia man, and inexperienced young officer, would have recommended such a course. But Harrison, well acquainted with the requisites of an army, well versed in the stratagems of savage warfare, and knowing well the exposed situation of the frontier, thought best to remain where he was until his own situation, or that of the enemy should warrant an attempt to proceed. Had he marched further west, and by so doing been defeated, every settlement and log hut on the southern shore of Lake Erie would have been ravaged, and their inhabitants, probably, consigned to savage fury.

At the foot of the hill, upon which is Fort Meigs, there are a few log houses. The situation under the hill is very low, and the soil rich. The river here is called the Miami, of the Lake, to distinguish it from the Great Miami, and Little Miami rivers, which discharge their waters into the Ohio.

When I arrived at the Miami of the Lake, its banks had been so overflown as to pile up about the houses huge masses of ice. The water had risen so as to flow through the windows, and many swine and other domestic animals were swept from the yards.

I found the velocity of the rapids very great; and there was much danger in crossing them. The opposite bank is pleasantly diversified, and its soil is very fertile. Here Colonel Dudley, commanding [107] a detachment from Fort Meigs, during the last war, gallantly compelled the enemy to retreat; but owing to the imprudent zeal of his brave men, both them and himself were ambushed and slain.[56] Upon this river are situated the Vermillion and other tribes of Indians.

---

[55] At the Raisin River, see *post*, note 63.— Ed.

[56] While General Proctor was besieging Fort Meigs (May, 1813), Colonel Dudley with eight hundred Kentucky militia descended the rapids and sur-

The Miami of the Lake extends above Fort Meigs to Fort Wayne,[57] a distance of about one hundred miles, and then branches to the right and left; one of which branches proceeds in the direction of the sources of the Illinois river, and within about fifteen miles of St. Joseph's river, which enters Lake Michigan; and the other in that of those of the Great Miami river. Between a minor branch of the Miami of the Lake and the Great Miami there is a portage of five miles. The name of one of the first mentioned branches is St. Mary, and constitutes the river of this name. On this river is situated Fort Adams; and about half way between Fort Wayne and Miami Bay is Fort Defiance.[58] The navigation of the main stream, for vessels, extends only a short distance above Fort Meigs; and from this place to Miami Bay the distance is eighteen miles. Near this Bay is Fort Miami, which was built by the British in 1794.[59] About fifteen miles beyond the

---

prised the British, driving them from their battery and spiking their cannon. But, too elated by success to enter the fort as ordered, they pursued the enemy for nearly two miles into the woods and swamps, and were finally surrounded and captured.— Ed.

[57] After the battle of Fallen Timbers, General Wayne (September, 1794) proceeded to destroy the Miami villages at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Josephs rivers, and there built Fort Wayne. It had long been a centre of Indian trade, and the French had maintained a post there through the first half of the eighteenth century. See Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 87.— Ed.

[58] General Wayne destroyed the Indian villages at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers (August, 1794), and established Fort Defiance at that point. On his march from Fort Recovery for that purpose, he also built Fort Adams at the place where he crossed St. Mary's River, at Girtystown, an old Indian trading place twenty-five miles north of Fort Recovery. For the history of the forts of Ohio, see Graham, "Military Posts in Ohio," in Ohio Archæological and Historical Society *Publications*, vol. iii.— Ed.

[59] The building of Fort Miami by the British in a time of peace between that nation and the United States (1794) was one of the grievances of the frontiersmen. After Wayne's victory, the Indians were chased to the gates of Fort Miami. The British surrendered this fort with the other Northwest posts in 1796. The Americans made the post at this place the rendezvous for the campaign of 1812-13.— Ed.

Miami of the Lake, is the line between the State of Ohio and Michigan territory.

For twenty miles west of this river there are some rises of land, the soil of which is light, and the growth of timber upon them is principally white oak. In travelling this distance I crossed several creeks, with much difficulty and hazard. Up and down the bank of one of them I marched for hours before I could find a single tree or log to float upon. Just before reaching this creek a bear crossed my path; but having no dogs I could not overtake him.

Soon after leaving the last mentioned creek, [108] arrived at another, which furnished more means of crossing, but in the employment of which there was the greatest peril. A tree lay part of the way across the channel of the creek with its top towards me; but being very large its trunk had sunk far below the surface of the current, so that I could walk only on its crooked branches. Having my gun too, I could employ but one hand in supporting myself, and sometimes could reach no limb for the employment even of that. After crossing a part of the channel, I found the large end of the tree several feet below the surface of the water; and it was disposed to sink further. At the distance of several feet from the end of it was a high stump; and from this to the shore there was a space of water a few feet in depth. I could take no other course than to note the direction and extent of the body of the tree, walk quickly to its end, spring to the stump, and from that to the shore. I effected my object; but was never more sensible of the protecting hand of Providence. The water of the creek was exceedingly cold, and the chill of evening was approaching.

It was now the 17th of March, the ground was frozen, and the travelling very rough and painful. In the forenoon I passed the Bay Settlement.[60] This place contains several scattering houses, which are occupied principally by French people; and the aspect of the whole country is that of an illimitable marsh. Some parts of this tract of prairie are too wet for cultivation. A few miles east of the Bay there are several rises of land, the soil of which is light and well adapted to the cultivation of wheat.

Towards evening I reached the River Raisin. At the distance of a few miles east of it, I entered the Military Road, of which the public papers have spoken, and which leads to the old roads in the vicinity of Detroit.[61] This road is cut through a perfect wilderness [109] of a large growth of timber. It is very wide, and entirely free from stumps. The plan of it, and the manner in which the work has been executed, speak favourably of the judgment and fidelity of the military department.

The travelling on this road is, in the spring of the year, very heavy; and a person on foot is much annoyed by the sharp points of bushes which are concealed by the mud.

At the commencement of the road the country becomes rather elevated, is highly fertile, is covered with a superb growth of timber, and is intersected with streams well calculated for mills.

On the River Raisin stands Frenchtown, an ancient and considerable settlement.[62] The inhabitants on the river are principally French; but the American population is rapidly increasing. The soil here is of an excellent quality, and in high repute. The river, at the settlement, is about sixty rods wide, and it is navigable to Lake Erie, a distance of about twelve miles. The river has been explored for about seventy miles above Frenchtown; and beyond this distance the country is but little known. The land above the settlement is said to be even better than in its immediate vicinity. The name of the river comports well with the nature of the soil; it may be rendered, in English, river of grapes.

---

[60] This was probably the village at the mouth of Otter Creek, forty-two miles southwest of Detroit. The land had been purchased from the Indians and settlement begun in 1794.— ED.

[61] This road, begun under the direction of the secretary of war, May, 1816 was built by soldiers stationed at Detroit. By November, 1818, seventy miles had been completed. It was eighty feet wide and contained over sixty causeways and many bridges.— ED.

[62] In 1784 a small body of French Canadians purchased land from the Indians and settled at the mouth of Raisin River, forty miles south of Detroit. They traded in furs with the agents of the North West Company. In 1812 the village contained about forty-five French families and a few Americans. It has now been incorporated in the city of Monroe — ED.

I approached this river with a light step and a heavy heart. Hundreds of my gallant countrymen had there fallen victims to British barbarity. Who has heard without horror, of the massacre at the River Raisin![83] When I arrived at this bloody field, the snow had left the hillocks, and the grass began to vegetate upon the soldier's grave. The sun was setting in sadness, and seemed not yet to have left off his weeds. The wind from the north, crossing [110] the icy vales, rebuked the unconscious spring; and the floating ice, striking against the banks of the river, spake of the warrior souls, pressing for waftage across the gulph of death.

In speaking of our too general employment of militia, I suggested, that in another place I should offer some reflections upon the subject of war.

Nothing but the influence of example, and the ability of the human mind readily to accustom itself to crime and carnage, prevents us from being shocked by sanguinary contests between civilized communities. How astonishing is it, that nations, acquainted with the feelings and principles of humanity, instructed by the precepts and example of the Prince of Peace, and living in the hopes of Heaven, should send armies into the field to butcher each other! The practice is indeed a disgrace to human nature; and the mournful consequences of it must make the Angels weep. How often has the hostile foot suddenly assailed the ear of apprehension! How often has war driven man from his home, and blasted forever his plans of domestic happiness! How often is the wife called upon to mourn her husband slain!— The father his son, the pride and the glory of his old age!— The son his father, the instructor and the guide of his youth!— The brother, his brother of love!— And the maiden, the blooming youth,— the secret joy of her soul!

---

[83] General Winchester, having reached the Maumee Rapids, did not wait for the remainder of the army under Harrison, but proceeded to Frenchtown, although his men had little ammunition and the town was unprotected, save for a line of pickets. Proctor, the British general, crossed from Malden and attacked him, January 22, 1813. A panic seizing one portion of the army they fled to the woods where they were overtaken and most of them scalped by the Indians; the militia at the same time surrendering to Proctor. Without providing sufficient protection for the wounded left at Frenchtown, this general hastened back to Canada, and the following morning a horde of painted savages broke into the town and shot and scalped the helpless prisoners.— Ed.

A state of war is demoralizing in many points of view. It opens a wide door to selfish ambition,— to intrigue, avarice, and to all their concomitant crimes. A habit of engaging in war is very soon acquired; and then the feelings, and pecuniary interests of a considerable portion of the community, renders, to them, such a state desirable. Under such a state of things, the defence of national liberty is often the insincere apology for invasion; and the splendour [111] of military parade, captivating the heart, darkens the understanding, and silences the voice of conscience. The true nature of freedom is here overlooked; passion supplies the place of reason; and false glory is substituted for national respectability. Upon these grounds, the eclat of military achievements undermines the virtue of the state, and military tyranny usurps the place of rational government.

The evil effects of war are incalculable. They continue to operate for ages, and materially affect the ultimate destinies of nations. War, however, is sometimes necessary: but self defence,— in the largest sense of the phrase; self defence, both at home and on Nature's Commons;— self defence directly and indirectly, is the only ground upon which it should be waged. Here Heaven will always smile, and freemen always conquer.

On the 18th and 19th of March I passed the battle grounds of Brownstown and Magagua.[84] Near the former place Major Vanhorn, commanding a detachment of one hundred and fifty men, was suddenly attacked, on all sides, by British regulars and Indians. The Americans made a spirited resistance, and after suffering severely effected a retreat. Soon after this affair another detachment, under Lieutenant Colonel Miller, consisting of three hundred of the veteran 4th regiment, and also about two hundred militia, were sent to accomplish the object of Vanhorn's march, which was to support Capt. Brush, who was encamped at the River Raisin, and who was destined for Detroit with provisions for our army then in possession of Sandwich. The enemy anticipating another attempt to accomplish the object, immediately obtained reinforcements, and lay in ambush near the former battle ground. The Indians were commanded by Tecumseh; and the combined forces amounted to about seven hundred and fifty men.

[112] Colonel Miller, although he proceeded with caution, experienced a sudden attack. Perhaps there never was one more furious; or the resistance to which evinced in a greater degree the characteristic union and firmness of disciplined troops.

---

[84] Brownstown is situated on the Huron River, twenty-five miles south of Detroit; Magagua (Monguagon) is about twenty miles south of Detroit. The engagement at the former place occurred August 5; at the latter, August 9, 1812.— Ed.

On the right of the Americans there was a dark wood, and on their left was a small prairie across which was an eminence covered with trees and bushes. In the wood, on the right, the Indians lay in ambush, with a breastwork between them and the Americans. On the small height, on the left, there was stationed a detachment of Indians; and the British regulars occupied other favourable positions. The onset was tremendous. The veteran Miller immediately extended his lines, to avoid being outflanked, ordered a detachment to dislodge the enemy on his left, opened a brisk fire upon the main body of the assailants, and then drove them at the point of the bayonet. At the same time, the enemy was driven from the height in a most prompt and gallant manner. The British regulars retreated; but the Indians still obstinately contended from behind the scattering trees. The regulars, in the mean time, were rallied; and the battle became more general, and more equally maintained. At this eventful moment, the mighty, yet cheering voice of the intrepid Miller, like the roar of a torrent echoing from a thousand hills, inspired with a new impulse his faithful,— generous troops.— In one moment the victory was ours. Early in the engagement, the veteran Colonel was, accidentally, thrown from his horse; and some suppose, that they can still see upon the ground the impression of his gigantic form.

In examining this interesting battle-ground, I found, by the numerous scars on the trees under which the Americans fought, that the enemy made a great many random shot. It is to be presumed, [113] that soldiers generally fire too high, especially when the object is at a considerable distance; not considering that a ball, in its passage, describes a circular line. Every soldier should be acquainted with the most simple principles of enginery; and he should practice upon those principles, for the purpose of ascertaining their relative influence upon the character of his piece. General Wayne seemed to be aware that soldiers are apt to fire too high. He was often heard to say to his troops, in battle:—"Shin them my brave boys!—shin them!"

In passing the battle-grounds all was silence. Not a leaf was in motion. The misty air seemed conscious that here was the place of graves; and no sound was heard but the footsteps of the stranger who had come to rejoice and to mourn.

Before leaving these interesting, yet melancholy scenes, I may add, that where one is acquainted with the particulars of an engagement, he can view, with much gratification, the positions which the parties occupied, and draw, from their influences upon the result, important lessons equal to those of actual experience.

From the River Raisin to Brownstown the land is highly valuable, and presents some fine scites for farms. The soil is rugged and rich, the timber upon it lofty and elegant, and the streams remarkably well calculated for manufacturing purposes. In viewing these fine tracts I could not but pity those poor fellows whom I have often seen settled upon a barren and rocky soil, scarcely fit for the pasturage of sheep. Unacquainted with the quality of land, and yet devoted to the employment of agriculture, they still cleave to their possessions, which instead of enriching them, will break down their constitutions with labour, and keep them poor all their days. Such persons, however, need not leave the land of [114] their birth and the society of their friends. Let them still employ their industry at home; not upon a less thankless soil.

From Brownstown to Detroit the land is diversified with small meadows and fertile eminences. Here there is a beautiful view of the river Detroit. The rises of land consist of a rich black mould, upon a limestone bottom. At the foot of them there are fine springs, and on their summits a good growth of hard wood.

The day after leaving Magagua I arrived at Detroit, to which place I had long looked for that rest and those comforts, which would enable me to make new exertions. In marching to this place I was constantly employed, with the exception of one day, for seven weeks. The distance from New-Hampshire to Detroit, by the rout which I took, is about one thousand miles. Ere I reached the city my clothes became much torn, and in going through the bushes my eyes were greatly injured. Within one hundred miles east of Detroit, I crossed upwards of thirty rivers and creeks.

The prospect in approaching this place is picturesque and interesting. At the distance of several miles, the traveller, in moving along the western bank of the river, sees several large buildings, and several wind-mills in the town of Sandwich. This place is very considerable, and is situated on the Canada side of the river, opposite Detroit. The general appearance of this part of the country is truly European.

The city of Detroit is very beautifully situated.[66] Its principal street and buildings are upon a bend of the river, of a mile or two in length, and they occupy the whole extent of it. The bend forms a semi-circle, and the banks of it are gently sloping. The houses and stores are near the summit of the bank, [115] and the slopes form pleasant grounds for gardening. The streets intersect each other at right angles, and the situation is calculated for a large and elegant city. The Fort and Cantonment lie about forty rods west of the main street. From this street a spacious gate opens to them, and at a little distance from it, the road forks and leads to them respectively. The contrast between the numerous white buildings in both of these places, and the green grass contiguous to and around them is very pleasant. A stranger, in visiting the Fort and Cantonment, is agreeably impressed with the neatness of their appearance, and with the order and discipline which are maintained there among the troops. The apartments of the officers too present a studious and scientific aspect; and seem to warrant the idea, that in the officers of our army are united the character of the well informed gentleman, and intrepid soldier. This military post is a very important and responsible station; and the government has made for it a very judicious selection of officers. Several of these officers are of the veteran 4th regiment; and others of them have seen the darkened sky red-hot with battle.

---

[66] For the early history of Detroit, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 18.— Ed.

On the evening of my arrival at Detroit, I addressed the following note to Governor Cass: "A gentleman from New-Hampshire wishes for the privilege of introducing himself to Governor Cass. He is upon a pedestrious tour, and therefore trusts, that the roughness of his garb will not preclude him from the honour of an interview. March 20th, 1818." The Governor replied with his compliments and with the request that I would call upon him the next morning at 9 o'clock. At the time appointed I waited upon him, and was received with that unaffected friendliness and manner, which so well comports with the institutions of the country.

[116] Governor Cass,[66] who is the Supreme Executive magistrate of the Michigan Territory, resides just below

---

[66] Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan from 1814 to 1831.— Ed.

the Cantonment; and General Macomb[67] occupies an elegant brick house, erected by General Hull, situated at the upper end of the street. The former is remarkably well calculated for the Governor of a frontier Territory: in him are united the civilian and the warrior. Governor Cass lives in an unostentatious style; his aspect evinces benevolence; his disposition is social, and his manners are plain.

The style in which General Macomb lives is at once elegant and becoming. His military reputation is well known; and in private life he is conspicuous for affability, politeness and attention to strangers.

Soon after entering Detroit, I met with a trifling incident, which interested me by exciting my curiosity. Among a crowd of gazers here, I saw a face which I remembered to have known a great while before; but where, I could not tell. How astonishingly impressive is the expression of the human countenance! The next day the man passed the Hotel where I sojourned, and I took the liberty to invite him in. Twenty years had elapsed since I had last seen him; and then we were mere children, pronouncing in the same class our A, B, C.

A considerable part of the population of Detroit are French; but the number of Americans there, is daily increasing, and will soon become very numerous. The Government warehouse here is very large, and the Government wharf is long and commodious. There are several other wharves at Detroit, and the vessels lying at them make a pleasant appearance. From the lower part of the town the view, up the river, is remarkably fine. Here one may see, for the distance of four miles, a beautiful expanse of water, several islands almost lost to vision, and near [117] them, on a point of land, several large windmills. The river itself yields to none in point of utility and beauty. Opposite to Detroit it is about one mile wide, and its current moves about three miles an hour. The whole length of the river is thirty miles; and from Detroit to Lake St. Clair the distance is nine miles.

---

[67] Alexander Macomb (1782-1841) was a lieutenant-colonel in the regular army at the outbreak of the War of 1812-15. Having served on the Niagara frontier during 1813, he commanded the regular troops at the battle of Plattsburg (September, 1814), and for his bravery was made a major-general and received a gold medal from Congress. Upon the death of General Brown in 1828, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army.— Ed.

In Detroit there is much good society; and hospitality is a conspicuous trait in the character of the people. The Lyceum established here is patronized by the principal men in the place; and those who take a part in its discussions display extensive information, much correct reasoning, and no little eloquence. There is also an Academy in this place; and it is superintended by the learned Mr. Monteith. In time, this city will become conspicuous for its literature, and for the propriety of its customs and manners. In relation to politics, it will take, in some respects, a new course; and in this particular be an example worthy of imitation. In point too of municipal regulation and statutary rule, the Michigan Territory will be eminently correct. There is no state or territory in the union, which merits so much attention on the part of the General Government as the Michigan Territory. In the vicinity of Detroit there is, for the distance of thirty miles, only the width of the river of this name between the United States and Upper Canada; and above Lake St. Clair, there is between the two countries only the width of the river St. Clair for the distance of forty miles. It will be of great consequence, in a national point of view, to have the systems of education, laws, customs, and manners, of the Territory such as to outweigh the counter influence of those of the British in its neighbourhood. As to the population of this territory, the General Government will do well to afford every facility and encouragement to [118] its increase. By increasing the strength of our frontier settlements, we shall lessen the influence of the British Government over the savages of the west, and be able to meet their incursions more promptly, and with greater effect.

At Detroit there is a theatre; and it is under the exclusive management of the military officers stationed there. These gentlemen, actuated by liberal and polished views, have erected a stage for the gratuitous instruction and amusement of the public. The scenery of the stage is executed with an appropriate taste, the dramatic pieces are selected with judgment and delicacy, and the performances are quite equal to any in the country. Indeed the officers of our army, at Detroit, possess much genius and erudition; and the correctness of their conduct, in point of morals and manners, entitle them to much praise.

The state of agriculture in the Michigan Territory is far from flourishing. In the immediate vicinity of Detroit it is deplorable. The French have no ambition to excel in this honourable and profitable calling. There is here, however, every thing to encourage an active husbandman. The soil is fertile and the climate perfectly congenial to the growth of New-England productions. A yankee farmer, carrying with him to this place his knowledge of agriculture, and his industry, might soon acquire a very handsome estate. The market for country produce in Detroit is always high; and large sums of money are annually paid there for provisions, which are transported across the lake from the upper parts of the states of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

The inhabitants of Detroit, wishing to keep their money in circulation among themselves, and also wishing to see their own agriculture improving, [119] would afford great encouragement to farmers who should settle in their vicinity. Here too all mechanical trades would be promptly patronized. Various articles of American manufacture are sent to this place from the city of New-York, and meet here a market affording great profits. Joiners, brick makers, shoe makers, and almost all other mechanics would here find ample patronage. Day labourers too, would obtain here ready employment and good wages. I may add, that lumber and wood are remarkably high in this city; and that wood sellers and lumber dealers might here realize from these occupations very handsome profits.

I deem it my duty to express a high opinion of the Michigan Territory, because facts warrant such a course, and it is important that those of my fellow citizens, who may be disposed to emigrate to the west, should possess every information upon the subject. No one need suppose my declarations to be those of a land speculator. I have not the most remote relation to such business, and never expect to have.

In travelling more than four thousand miles, in the western parts of the United States, I met no tract of country which, upon the whole, impressed my mind so favourably as the Michigan Territory. Erroneous ideas have heretofore been entertained respecting this territory. Indeed it has, until lately, been viewed as scarcely within the jurisdiction of the United States. Even some late geographers seem to have collected no other information respecting it, than what had been written by their ancient predecessors. Some of this information, especially as it respects Detroit, does not apply to the present times.

The soil of this territory is generally fertile, and a considerable proportion of it is very rich. Its [120] climate is delightful; and its situation novel and interesting. As to the former, it possesses a good medium between our extreme northern and southern latitudes; and with respect to the latter it is almost encircled by the Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan. New-England fruits may here be produced in great perfection; and the territory is capable of being rendered a great cider country. In point of health too, this territory yields to no part of North America. There is no place in the world more healthy than the city of Detroit. Consumptions are never known there.

The situation of this city, although level, is very commanding. On the Ohio the view of the traveller is confined; but here one appears lifted above the adjacent country, and may survey it as from an eminence.

The Michigan Territory is generally level, but in many places gently diversified. The growth of timber here is principally black walnut, sugar maple, elm, sycamore, and pine. There is not, however, an abundance of the latter. The streams within this territory are very numerous, and well calculated for manufacturies of every kind; and the fisheries here are exceedingly valuable. Besides vast quantities of many other kinds of fish, caught in the waters within and contiguous to this territory, during the spring and summer season, thousands of barrels of white fish are taken here in the fall, and prepared for the home and foreign markets.[68] This species of fish is of the size, and appearance of the largest shad; but are far more valuable. Wild fowl of all kinds greatly abound here.

The trade of the Michigan Territory is already very considerable, and it is rapidly increasing. Besides the business transacted between different parts of the territory itself, and with the Indian [121] tribes in the neighbourhood, it transacts considerable business with the upper parts of the state of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; and also with the inhabitants of Upper Canada. Its shipping is employed on Lake Erie, Huron, and Michigan, either in the fisheries, in freighting, or in trading along the coast. In the summer season there is in Detroit a considerable concourse of strangers, from the states by the way of Buffalo, who furnish considerable sums as passage money to the ship owners on Lake Erie; and in the spring of the year the neighbouring Indians resort thither to dispose of their furs, and to purchase guns, ammunition, blankets, and other articles.

---

[68] Either the common whitefish (*Coregonus clupeiformis*) or the blue fins (*Coregonus nigripinnis*).— Ed.

Detroit is a central situation for the fur trade in the North-West;[89] and there is a considerable commercial connexion between this place and Chicago and Green Bay.

The establishment of a weighty fur company at Detroit, would result in much individual and public advantage. The English, by their extensive fur trade in the north and west, acquire an influence among the Indians, which similar establishments on our part would completely counteract. This influence renders the Indians hostile towards us, and in the event of a war between this country and Great Britain, would blend the prejudices of the Englishman with the ferocity of the savage.

The English derive immense profits from the North American fur trade. The North West company employ in this business, exclusive of savages, upwards of fifteen hundred men. The articles for the Indian market are cheap, and of course the requisite capital for this business is small.

It was my intention, after spending a few days at Detroit, to pursue my tour through the wilderness, between the Lakes Huron and Michigan, as far as [122] Michilimacinac; from thence across the North-West Territory to the Falls of St. Anthony, and then to trace the Mississippi to New-Orleans. Whilst at Detroit, however, I concluded to change, in some measure, my course.

---

[89] For an account of the North West Company, consult the preface to Long's *Voyages*, volume ii of our series, p. 16.— Ed.

There was evidence of a hostile disposition on the part of the Indians situated on my proposed route; the season of the year rendered travelling in this direction almost impracticable; and my views and business would not permit the delay which this last mentioned circumstance would occasion.

Upon leaving Detroit I crossed Lake Erie in a small vessel, and arriving at Presque Isle, pursued my course to New-Orleans, taking in my way all the states and territories of the west.

It may not be amiss, before I notice my trip across the Lake, to communicate some facts and reflections respecting the country above Detroit, many of which facts I was enabled to obtain by my residence there. Ere I speak upon this subject, however, I will, for a moment, prolong my stay at this city.

The sufferings of this place during the late war, are scarcely describable. The apprehension of death is far more terrible than actual dissolution. After the capitulation of General Hull, Detroit was thronged by Indians, and they were continually making the most aggravating requisitions. These they enforced by savage threats. There was not a moment of domestic peace for any one. The inhabitants did not dare to fasten their doors: for if they did the Indians would cut them to pieces with their tomahawks, and revenge the opposition upon the inmates of the house. When families were about to sit down to their tables, the Indians would come in, drive every one out of the room, and feast themselves. Their constant demand, at every dwelling, was for [123] whiskey; and to grant or refuse it was attended with great danger. If it were granted, intoxication and consequent bloodshed would be the effects; and upon a refusal, the Indians would present their long knives and threaten immediate death.

A lady, who resided at Detroit whilst it was in possession of the British, and who is remarkable for her good sense and intrepidity, related to me the above and many other facts relative to this trying state of things. She said, that upon one occasion several Indians came to her house, and upon their approach it was thought advisable for her husband to conceal himself in the garret. The Indians demanded whiskey of her; and upon being told that there was none in the house, they presented several knives to her breast, and in their rude English called her a liar. Although in momentary expectation of death, she still denied her having whiskey. Her husband, hearing the bustle below came down, and with the assistance of two or three others, who accidentally came that way, drave the Indians from the house. Immediate revenge was anticipated. It was the practice of the Indians, particularly at this time, to resent the smallest opposition. Supported by their civilized patrons, they felt their consequence; and their pride was as easily touched as that of a savageized Englishman. The house of the lady was soon surrounded, and day after day the Indians came to search for her husband; but not being able to find him, the object was, apparently, abandoned.

Immediately after the massacre at the River Raisin, the inhabitants of Detroit were called upon to witness a heart-rending scene. The Indians from this field of carnage were continually arriving at the city, and passing through its streets, with poles laden with reeking scalps.

I am here disposed to make a few remarks relative [124] to the late war. I know that in so doing I shall incur censure; but I write for those who are too noble to conceal their defeats, and too modest to proclaim their victories. The genius, and energy, and resources of the United States should have accomplished every thing.

I confess that I did not rejoice at the beams of peace. Premature peace does not promote the cause of humanity. We declared war for the defence of essential rights, which had, in the wantonness of power, been repeatedly invaded. In this war we sought indemnity for the past, and security for the future;— that security which punishment extorts from injustice:— that security which the fine and the lash guarantees to honest and peaceable communities. Did we effect our object?— Oh no! Whatever may have been our victories, our defeats were disgraceful. The administrators of the government were deficient in information, in system, and in energy. They sought an effect without an adequate cause; and the people sacrificed the glory of the country to the pride of political competition. As to the opposition, they pursued false morals until they lost sight of true patriotism.

There was virtue enough in the community; but affliction was necessary to raise it from the ruins of thoughtless and passionate rivalry. We were upon the eve of humiliation,— the eve of new, and omnipotent moral impulse, when peace unexpectedly presented herself. Not the peace which the victor magnanimously gives to the humbled foe, but that peace which misguided apprehension yields to the dark calculations of policy. The British Lion ceased to roar, and instead of contending until we had pared his princely paws, we were ready to forgive and to embrace him. Our own Eagle despised us; and with a fearless, anxious eye, and ruffled plume, [125] retired to the elevated and gloomy promontory of her glory and her disappointment.

It is the general opinion at Detroit, that Hull was prompted to surrender the place, not by bribery, but by cowardice. Could he have seen the dreadful and humiliating consequences which actually arose from this base and unpardonable step, the suggestions of conscience would have controuled his apprehensions, and his brave men would not have been deprived of their fame. Indescribable must be the feelings of patriotism and courage, when official cowardice yields them to a foe, whom their hearts have already conquered. The brave man regards his friends and his country a thousand times more than himself; and he would court a hundred deaths rather than wound their feelings, or forfeit their love. In the hour of danger, when the national flag is assailed, his soul tells him that his countrymen will hear of this, and he dedicates himself to battle, to glory, and to death! But I am sensible that there is a higher principle: the man who fears no evil so much as self-reproach, will always do his duty.

Immediately upon the capitulation of Hull, a Yankee soldier of the 4th regiment thought it high time for him to take care of himself; and he immediately devised a plan by which he hoped to outwit General Brock. The soldier secretly left the fort, went to a barber and had his hair and whiskers closely shaved; and then obtained from a tailor such garments as were most fashionable for traders. After remaining about the city for a few days, this citizen-soldier applied to the British General for the necessary passes, stating that he had come to Detroit for the purposes of trade, &c. The General kindly referred him to the proper officer, his passes were promptly prepared, and he returned to his friends.

[126] I will now commence my proposed excursion above Detroit.

The strait called the river Detroit becomes enlarged just above Hog Island,[70] and forms Lake St. Clair. This lake is about twenty-five miles in length. Its depth is inconsiderable. The principal islands in it are Harsen's, Hay, Peach, and Thompson's. Formerly there were several Indian tribes situated on the western side of this Lake; and the Ontaonais[71] occupied the other side: but the Iroquois, a fierce, bloody, and restless tribe, have long since dispossessed them.

The River St. Clair, between the lake of this name and Lake Huron, receives the waters of the three vast Lakes beyond it. This river is about forty miles long. The bed of the river is strait, contains many islands, and its banks are covered with lofty trees. At the head of this river is Fort St. Clair.[72]

The river Thames enters Lake St. Clair on the Canada side. On this river is situated the Moravian village, where General Harrison routed the British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh.[73] On this river too is

---

[70] Hog Island, about three miles above Detroit, was so named by the French in the early years of discovery, because of the number of wild swine found thereon. Near this island occurred the defeat of the Fox Indians in 1712. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvi, p. 283. This island was purchased by William, father of General Macomb, in 1786.— Ed.

[71] For the Ottawa Indians, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 37.— Ed.

[72] This unimportant post was established (1765) and commanded by Patrick Sinclair, a British army officer, who also purchased a large tract of land along the river. Both fort and river were for a long time called Sinclair, and as late as 1807 are so given in an Indian treaty drawn up by Governor Hull. See *State Papers, Indian Affairs*, i, p. 747.— Ed.

[73] The battle of the Thames, in which Proctor was put to flight and Tecumseh killed, was fought two miles west of Moraviantown, or about sixty-five miles northeast of Detroit.— Ed.

General Simcoe's paper town called London.[74] Along the banks of the Lake and river St. Clair, the country, generally, is fertile, and pleasingly diversified. The sugar maple tree abounds here, and here too are elegant forests of pine timber well calculated for the common purposes of building, and also for spars. I may add, that on the banks of the Thames are villages of the Delawares and Chippewas.[75] The principal townships of the Six Nations are situated near the greatest source of this river.

Before I leave Lake St. Clair, I must say a word respecting the old veteran of this name.[76] It is indeed too late to do him justice:— he no longer wants [127] the meat which perisheth. But we may spread laurels upon his tomb; and soothe the spirit, which, perhaps, even now hovers over its country, and seeks the fame which his merit achieved. The mass of mankind judge of plans, and of their execution, not by their abstract wisdom, or energy, but by their results. Many a man, however, gains a victory by a blunder, and experiences defeat through the instrumentality of his wisdom. Accident often settles the question; and we may presume, that sometimes it is emphatically the will of Heaven, that the strongest and wisest party should be overcome.

General St. Clair devoted his whole life to the art of war. He was a scientific man, a man of talents, and always brave. His heart was formed for friendship, and his manners were interesting. In many battles he prevailed. In 1791 he was defeated.— So was Braddock, so was Harmer. Indian warfare is full of stratagem and terror. Troops will not always stand this test, and one man cannot effect every thing. General St. Clair had to contend with even more formidable enemies:— with misfortune,— with reproach,— with the ingratitude of his country. He retired from an ignorant and uncharitable world to his favourite Ridge.— Here he died. Who would not shun the thronged and splendid path of the successful warrior, to bend over the lonely grave of the venerable St. Clair!

---

[74] In 1793 Governor Simcoe made a trip to Detroit, and selected the present site of London for the capital of Upper Canada. However, the surrender of Detroit (1796), in accordance with Jay's Treaty, rendered such a plan impracticable, and York was chosen capital instead. London, situated on the Thames one hundred and ten miles northeast of Detroit, was laid out in 1826 and incorporated in 1840.— Ed.

[75] For the Delaware and Chippewa Indians, see Post's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 57; Long's *Voyages*, volume ii of our series, note 42.— Ed.

[76] For a brief biography of General Arthur St. Clair, see F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 33. Evans would seem to imply that the lake and river were named for this officer. The name was assigned by La Salle's expedition in 1679. See Hennepin, *A New Discovery* (Thwaites's ed., Chicago, 1903), pp. 59, 108.— Ed.

Lake Huron is, excepting Lake Superior, the largest collection of fresh water known to civilized man. Including the coasts of its bays its circumference is upwards of one thousand miles. Its islands are very numerous. The names of some of them are La Crose, Traverse, Whitewood, Michilimackinac, Prince William, St. Joseph, and Thunder Bay. The island of St. Joseph is upwards of one hundred miles in circumference, and belongs to the English, who have a company stationed there.[77]

[128] On the American side of Lake Huron, and between it and Lake Michigan the country is a perfect wilderness. The principal Indian tribes situated in this tract are the Ootewas and Chippewas. The bay of Saguina on this side of the lake, is eighteen miles in width, and in length about forty-five miles. Two considerable rivers

---

[77] The English, upon their surrender of Mackinac in 1796, thinking the Americans might claim St. Joseph Island, hastened to take possession. A stockade was erected and subsequently a blockhouse, but the place was not suited for a military station. In 1815, the buildings were repaired and a garrison established; it was removed, however, to Drummond's Island the following year. For further information regarding this island, see *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, xvi, p. 69.— Ed.

and several small ones pass into this bay. The Bay of Thunder lies near the Straits of Michilimackinac, is nine miles in width and very shallow. Here terrible storms of thunder and lightning are frequently experienced.

On the Canada side of Lake Huron, from Lake St. Clair to the river Severn, which passes near Lake Simcoe and enters the first mentioned Lake, the country is but little known, and is covered with thick forests. These forests reach far beyond the Severn, and indeed are separated from the unexplored wilds, which probably extend to the Pacific Ocean, only by the lakes, rivers, and portages which lie in the track of the British Fur Companies. The rapids upon these rivers are very numerous. The lakes too, in this part of the country, are numerous, but small. The principal houses of the British Fur Companies are established at the Lakes Abitibee, Waratouba, and Tamiscamine.[78] The North-West Fur Company send every year from one hundred to one hundred and fifty canoes, laden with merchandize, to their posts on Lake Superior. These canoes are made of very light materials, generally of birch, are flat on the bottom, round on the sides, and sharp at each end. They carry about four tons each, and are conducted by about ten persons. These boats generally move from Montreal about the beginning of May. Before the canoes arrive at their place of destination, they are repeatedly unladen and carried, together with their cargoes, across many portages. The course is toilsome and perilous; but the prospect of [129] gain, and the habit of enduring fatigue render the employment tolerable. The principal food of the navigators is Indian meal and the fat of bears. In the trade with the Indians, the beaver skin is the medium of barter. Two beaver skins are equal to one otter skin; and ten of the former are generally allowed for a common gun. Here is a profit of at least 500 per cent, exclusive of all costs.

---

[78] For information concerning these lakes, see Long's *Voyages*, volume ii of our series, pp. 145, 191.— Ed.

Michilimackinac is a small island situated in the upper part of Lake Huron near the commencement of the strait which connects this Lake with Lake Michigan.[79] The aspect of the island is elevated and irregular. The fort of Michilimackinac is situated on this island, near to which are several stores and dwelling houses. This is a very important post. The strait and also the lakes which it connects abound with fine fish; the principal kinds of which are herring, white fish, and trout. The Michilimackinac trout are bred in Lake Michigan, and are celebrated for their size and excellence; they sometimes weigh sixty or seventy pounds.

The strait of Michilimackinac is about fifteen miles in length. The course of its current, into Huron or Michigan, depends upon the winds; and is, therefore, very irregular. At times it is exceedingly rapid.

Lake Michigan is about two hundred and fifty miles in length. Its breadth is about sixty miles. Including the curvatures of its bays, its circumference is about nine hundred miles. There are a great many rivers which rise in the peninsula between this Lake and Lake Huron, and which pass into the latter. That part of this peninsula which lies along the south-east of Lake Michigan is but little known. The names of the principal rivers here are Marguerite, Grand, Black, and St. Joseph. The latter is by far the largest, and may be ascended about one hundred [130] and fifty miles. On this river is situated Fort Joseph.[80]

---

[79] For the early history of Mackinac, see Thwaites, "Story of Mackinac," in *How George Rogers Clark won the Northwest* (Chicago, 1903).— Ed.

[80] A brief sketch of Fort St. Joseph is given in Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 85.— Ed.

Green Bay, on the western border of Lake Michigan is about one hundred miles in length; and its breadth, at its entrance, is about twenty-five miles. It contains several islands; and there are in its vicinity tracts of low and wet ground. At the bottom of the bay is a little fall,[81] beyond which is a small lake called Winnebago. This lake receives Fox river from the west. At the foot of this bay too, is a fort,[82] and on the west of lake Winnebago is situated a village inhabited by Indians of this name. On the Malhominis river, which flows into Green Bay, is also situated an Indian village containing various tribes. The principal of them are the Lake, Pouteoratamis, and Malhominis.[83] A few families of the Nadonaicks, whose nation was nearly exterminated by the Iroquois, reside here. The Puans once occupied the borders of this bay, and Puans bay was originally its name. The Puans were fierce, and exceedingly hostile to neighbouring tribes. At length these tribes combined against them, and their numbers were greatly diminished.

Lake Michigan and Green Bay form a long point of land called Cape Townsand. Between this Lake and Lake Winnebago are situated the Ootewas. There are several rivers on the west of the last mentioned lake. One of these is Chicago river, near to which is Fort Dearborn.[84] At Chicago the United States have troops stationed.

---

[81] Evans probably refers here to the fall five miles from the mouth of Fox River, at De Pere (French, *Rapides des pères*), so called because it was the site of a Jesuit Indian mission established in 1669-70. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvi. Our author in his description omits mention of the Lower Fox, flowing from Lake Winnebago into Green Bay.— Ed.

[82] Fort Howard, named in honor of General Benjamin Howard, formerly commander in the Western territory, was constructed (1816) a mile above the mouth of Fox River, when the Americans took possession, after the War of 1812-15. A French settlement, chiefly on the opposite side of the river at Green Bay, had existed here since about 1745.— Ed.

[83] There were two villages of Winnebago (French Puans) on the lake of that name: the principal one was situated on Doty's Island, at the mouth of the lake; the other at the junction of the Upper Fox and the lake, near the waterworks station of the modern Oshkosh. This latter was familiarly known to the French voyageurs as Saukière. The village on the Menominee (Malhominis) River was, as Evans says, a mixed one, composed principally of the tribe which gave name to the river. For these two tribes, see Long's *Voyages*, volume ii of our series, notes 81, 86. For the Potawatomi, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 84.— Ed.

Would to Heaven, that I could forever forget lake Michigan! Her envious waves have, recently, buried a youth of noble promise. With melancholy pride I remember, that whilst at Detroit, I numbered among my friends the lamented Lieutenant Eveleth. He possessed a genius peculiarly calculated for the engineer department, to which he belonged; [131] and by his mild, yet manly deportment, inspired, even in strangers, both esteem and affection. His countenance was martial; but with this aspect was blended a sweetness of expression which is rarely witnessed.—

"Weep no more," brother soldiers, "weep no more,
For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead,
Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor;
So sinks the day star in the ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky:
So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,
Through the dear might of Him who walk'd the wave."

The tract of country lying between Lake Michigan and Lake Superior is rather sterile. The falls of St. Mary, situated in the strait between Lakes Huron and Superior, are mere cascades. In this strait there are several islands.

---

[84] A piece of land six miles square situated on the Chicago River, having been ceded to the United States by the treaty of Greenville (1795), orders were issued by the War Department (1803) for the construction of a fort on the north branch of the river. Fearing a combined English and Indian attack, the garrison evacuated the fort August 15, 1812; but had proceeded but a little way, when they were attacked by the Indians and the greater number massacred. Fort Dearborn was rebuilt in 1816, and garrisoned for several years thereafter. It was torn down in 1857, and the last of the buildings connected with it were consumed in the Chicago fire of 1871.— ED.

Below the falls is situated Fort St. Mary.[85] In this strait are caught fine fish of many kinds. The Indian tribes, who have heretofore occupied, and some of whom still occupy this part of the country are the Nougua, Outchebous, Maramegs, Achiligonans, Amicours, Missasangues, Hurons, Nepicrenians, Salteurs, Ontaouais, Amehouest and Otters.[86] Many of these tribes are merged in others of them who have been more powerful, or less unfortunate. The Iroquois, bloodthirsty and incursive, scattered all these tribes, and nearly exterminated some of them. There is, near the falls of St. Mary, a company of traders, several houses, a manufactory, mills, &c. But the vicinity of this place is a perfect wilderness.

Lake Superior is probably the largest collection of fresh water in the world. It is but little known. Its circumference however, has been ascertained to be about fifteen hundred miles. Storms frequently [132] assail it; and a swell, like that of the ocean, dashes upon the high and ragged rocks of its coasts. It contains many considerable islands and bays, and the soil around it is far from being fertile. Some of the islands are from fifty to one hundred miles in length. There are about forty rivers, which pour their tribute into this vast lake, some of which are of considerable magnitude. In the vicinity of the grand portage,[87] between this lake and the Lake of the Woods, there are established several trading companies. Lake Superior is well stored with fish, the principal kinds of which are white fish, trout, and sturgeon. The latter are of a very superior quality.

---

[85] For a brief description of Sault Ste. Marie, consult Long's *Voyages*, volume ii of our series, note 38.— Ed.

[86] For these tribes, many of whom are merely clans of the larger tribes, consult *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvi, index.— Ed.

[87] See Franchère's *Narrative*, volume vi of our series, note 205, for a brief description of the Grand Portage.— Ed.

This lake is remarkable for the pure and pellucid appearance of its water. The fish in it can be seen swimming at a great depth; and the vessels upon it seem to move in air. These effects are, probably, caused, in part, by the peculiar materials of the bed of the lake, and partly by extraordinary evaporation. This last idea sanctions the belief, that in this part of the country the quantity of rain is very great. Some places in the neighbourhood of this Lake are swampy, and some are elevated and fertile.

To the north and west of Lake Superior are several other lakes, the principal of which are the Lake of the Woods, Rainy Lake, Bear Lake, and Red Lake.[88]

Opposite to about the centre of Lake Superior, and on the river Mississippi, are the falls of St. Anthony. This river, above the falls, runs, principally, through Bear and Red Lake; one branch of it, however, runs below them pretty much in the direction of the Missouri River. Both below and above the falls of St. Anthony an almost innumerable number of rivers pour their waters into the Mississippi, some of which are several thousand miles in length. The Missouri is the principal source of [133] the Mississippi, and the latter name ought to be substituted for that of the former. Between the cascades of St. Mary, and the falls last mentioned, lies the North-West Territory.[89]

---

[88] For Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake, see Franchère's *Narrative*, notes 201, 204.

The maps of Evans's period represent White Bear Lake as the source of the Mississippi, and Red or Mississagan Lake as the origin of Red River of the North. The latter retains its name. The former is probably that now known as Leech Lake.— ED.

[89] Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818, and the part north of its present boundary was annexed to Michigan Territory. For the various divisions of the Northwest Territory, see Thwaites, "Division of the Northwest," in *How George Rogers Clark won the Northwest*.— ED.

The Indians, in the north and west, are generally fierce and untameable. They are so attached to the hunter state, that here they are somewhat industrious; but in every other occupation they evince great characteristic indolence. Some of the tribes are politic in all their proceedings; and husband their property and strength. Others, however, are regardless of the future, and look only to the present moment. All are degenerating, in a greater or less degree, and some, through the operation of ordinary causes, are becoming extinct.

Before I leave these immense waters to return to Detroit, I may notice, for a moment, the vast inland navigation which they afford. From the City of New-York to New-Orleans, by the way of the Lakes, the distance is about four thousand miles; and yet, without the aid of canals, the land carriage through this whole route is only about thirty miles. Such is the wonderful superiority of our country relative to inland navigation. Owing to this easy communication between the interior and the sea board, and to the other advantages of a residence in the west, it is to be presumed, that in the course of two centuries the western world will be as populous as the Continent of Europe. Such are the prospects presented to the politician in this country, and such the interest which they are calculated to excite in the breast of the American patriot, that one, in relation to this subject, would wish to live a thousand years. Admiration and concern occupy his mind. He wishes to watch the progress of events; and to apply, from time to time, the salutary principles of rational government. Aware of the oscillating nature of popular [134] sentiment, he fears that in some unfortunate moment the waves of popular feeling will be agitated, and that they will continue to dash even after the cause of their vexation shall have been forgotten.— He realizes, that in proportion to the extent of national territory, viewed in connection with the increase of population, the accumulation of wealth, the progress of arts, the habits of refinement, the corruptions of luxury, and lastly, with the dregs of that spirit of independence, which, in its purest essence, blends charity with suspicion, and forbearance with energy; but, in its deterioration, substitutes for these, a contracted jealousy, and a blind resentment:— he realizes, that in proportion to the extent of national territory, viewed in relation to these circumstances, will be the horrors of political concussion, and the miseries of consequent anarchy or despotism. Such are the effects, which are to be apprehended from the rapid and ultimate increase of the United States, that the American patriot, in view of her prosperity and of his own dissolution, may well exclaim, Oh, save my country!

It is with nations as with individuals; adversity is equally requisite for both. This is the only school where true wisdom can be acquired, and where the native luxuriance of the heart can meet with due restraints.— May Heaven guide our destinies by his chastening mercy!

I now suppose myself at Detroit, and about to leave it for the purpose of crossing Lake Erie. I speak not in vanity, but to do justice to the hospitality of this city: I arrived here an entire stranger, and left the place surrounded by friends. How grateful to the traveller, worn down by fatigue, is the hand of friendship and the smile of approbation! Upon leaving the Government wharf, I felt more than I should be willing to express: — The world do [135] not understand the language of the heart. I consider myself under particular obligations to A. G. W. Esquire. He voluntarily sought my acquaintance, and in the most interesting manner convinced me of his regard. This gentleman is conspicuous for his independence and literary attainments; but his greatest characteristic is native modesty.

Whilst at Detroit, I was much interested and amused by the conduct of an Indian; both by the principles upon which he acted, and the manner with which he displayed them. One morning, whilst conversing with my friend Doctor W. in came an Indian, and putting a finger to his mouth said, with a patient aspect and in a plaintive tone, "very sick." The poor fellow had been suffering much from the tooth ache, and he wished to have it extracted. He sat down, and placing his hands together, and interlocking his fingers he evinced, during the operation, much stoicism mingled with an interesting resignation. After the tooth was removed, he asked for whiskey; and immediately upon drinking it gravely marched off, leaving his tooth as the only compensation for the whiskey and surgical aid.

In going down the river Detroit, I was so happy as to have the society of General Macomb, Major M. Capt. W. and Lieut. B.

The river, a mile below the city, is much wider than it is opposite to that place; and a little further down there is a narrow and marshy island about four miles in length. Here we landed and refreshed ourselves from the General's provision baskets. Upon this island we found an almost innumerable number of ducks; they were heard in the grass in every direction. Vast flocks of wild fowl are almost continually swimming in the river Detroit.

Soon after leaving this island we arrived at Grose Isle.[89] The latter divides the river into two channels. [136] Its soil appears to be good, and its timber valuable. Upon this island, situated about three miles above Malden, there is a small fort in which the United States have stationed a few troops. The situation is very pleasant; and as a military post, is of consequence. A little below this place is a beautiful summer residence belonging to General Macomb, and which, I believe, is called St. Helena. The outlet to Lake Erie, between Malden and the adjoining land, is very narrow. Malden itself is a wretched looking place. It appears, indeed, like a scalp shop. One store, a warehouse, and a few small buildings constitute the whole of this celebrated position. I saw no inhabitants there excepting two or three crippled Indians.

---

[89] Grosse Isle, nine miles in length and about a mile in width, was purchased from the Indians in 1776 by William Macomb; it extends to the mouth of Detroit Strait.— Ed.

After remaining one night at Grose Isle, I proceeded to Malden, and from thence entered the lake. During the night the wind was high, and we run back a considerable way to avoid several islands called the Sisters. Towards morning, the wind being fair, we continued our course. At day light we experienced a gale of wind, and run for Put-in-Bay. Our Captain was a very experienced seaman, and perfectly understood the navigation of the lake; but having got among a cluster of little islands, situated near the bay, he was, for a moment, bewildered. Our situation was highly interesting. The darkness of the gale seemed to contend with the dawn; and fancy could almost see it hold the reins of the car of day. The waves dashed, our sloop ploughed the foam, many little islands reared, through night, their ragged tops, our Captain exclaimed, "where are we?" and all was hurly. We were now passing over the battle waves of the gallant Perry. Our little gunless keel moved where whole fleets had stormed. In fancy's ear, the cannon's roar had not ceased to reverberate; the undulating wave seemed [137] anxious to bury the dead; the wind, through our scanty shrouds, whispered in the ear of death; and the green wave, reddened by battle, greedily sported around our sides.[81]

Many of the islands near the Bay are not larger than a dwelling-house. Their sides consist of ragged rocks, and on their summits are a few weather beaten trees.

The storm continuing, we remained at anchor in Put-in-Bay four days. During this time I frequently went ashore, and surveyed the island of this name. Wild fowl are numerous here, and in the woods there are swine. The island is uninhabited. Its soil and the growth of its timber are very good. The former abounds with limestone.

This island is rendered interesting by its forming the bay in which our fleet was moored both before and after its great victory; and also by its containing the graves of some of those who fell in the engagement. My visit to these graves excited melancholy reflections. The parade and confusion of battle had passed; and nothing was heard but the chill blast, wending its devious way through the rank weeds. So bloody was this battle, that the victor himself might well have mourned.

It was natural for me here to reflect upon our naval history. During the Revolution our prowess upon the ocean promised every thing; and in the late war even the prophecies of philosophy, and the inspirations of liberty, were distanced. But I must speak of Renown! Where is our Wasp?[92] *True* glory was her object; and she returns not for earthly honours. Langdon and Toscin sleep in France:[93]—they were buds of fame. Lawrence fell, like Hector, by the shaft of fate.[94] My memory is full of valour's sons; but they need not the eulogy of my pen.

---

[81] When Perry reached Erie, Pennsylvania, to take charge of naval affairs (March, 1813), he found two vessels, the "Niagara" and the "Lawrence," already under construction. Working with tireless energy he equipped his fleet of ten vessels by August 12, and sailing up the lake anchored in Put-in-Bay to await the enemy. On the morning of September 10, the British squadron of six vessels, under Captain Barclay, appeared and the battle began. The "Lawrence," Perry's ship, being shot to pieces, he boarded the "Niagara," and again attacked the British at close range. At three in the afternoon, Barclay's two large vessels surrendered, and two others attempting to escape were captured. This victory compelled the British to evacuate Detroit.— ED.

In one of my excursions into the woods of Put-in-Bay [138] island, I was accompanied by my friend Capt. W. of the United States Army, a gentleman of a scientific and polished mind. Having provided ourselves with some old clothes, we visited a cave situated about a mile from the bay. This cave is smaller than some others in the west; but is, nevertheless, worth a description.

After exploring the woods for some time, we found what we supposed might be, and what actually was the cave. Its front is situated at the end of a considerable rise of land of an oval form. The mouth of the cave was very small; and being covered with sticks and leaves, presented a very uninviting aspect. After removing the obstructions, we took lights, and descending about ten feet perpendicularly, came to a rock, the position of which was that of an inclined plane. This rock is, in its descent, met by the front of the cave, so as to leave an aperture, near the floor of it, of only about three feet in length, and eighteen inches in height. This aperture also was covered with leaves. After removing them, we lay flat, and crowded ourselves, one to time, into an unknown and dismal region. As we advanced the cave, gradually, became higher; and at length we could move in an erect posture. Here we found ourselves in a spacious apartment, constituting about an acre, and surrounded by curious petrifactions. Those on the walls were small; but on the floor of the cave they were large; some of them weighing about thirty pounds. The latter are, generally of a pyramidical form. At the distance of about two hundred feet from the mouth of the cave, we came to a precipice, at the foot of which was a body of deep water. Whilst my companion sat upon the brink of the precipice, I descended it, and holding a light in one hand, swam with the other for the purpose of ascertaining the course and boundaries of this subterranean lake.

---

[92] The "Wasp" under command of Johnston Blakely sailed from Portsmouth for the British Channel (May, 1814), and began the destruction of English merchantmen. June 28, the brig "Reindeer" bore down upon her, but after twenty minutes of hard fighting was compelled to surrender. Although suffering severely in this engagement, the "Wasp" continued her ravages until October, when she disappeared and was never heard from again.— Ed.

[93] Henry Langdon and Frank Toscan were both midshipmen on the "Wasp" during her fight with the "Reindeer," and died from wounds received in the battle.— Ed.

[94] James Lawrence, born in Burlington, New Jersey (1781), served with Decatur in the War with Tripoli, and as lieutenant on the "Constitution." In 1811 he was placed in command of the "Hornet," his most notable achievement with that vessel being the destruction (1813) of the British ship "Peacock.' For this victory he was given command of the "Chesapeake," and accepting the challenge of the "Shannon," fought with her off Boston harbor, June, 1813. He fell, mortally wounded, and the "Chesapeake" was compelled to surrender. His countrymen, stirred by his dying cry, "Don't give up the ship," had his body brought from Halifax, and buried with military honors in Trinity Churchyard, New York City.— Ed.

[139] In this gloomy, yet interesting cavern, we saw no living thing, excepting two bats, which were in a torpid state. Whilst exploring the most distant recesses of the cave, one of our candles was accidentally extinguished. The extinguishment of our other light would, perhaps, have been fatal to us. The darkness of this dreary region is palpable. No ray of nature's light ever visited it. Its silence too is full of thought. The slippery step of the traveller, and the stilly drippings of the slimy concave, yielded a contrast which made silence speak. Our own appearance interested us. We forgot ourselves, and unconsciously dwelt upon two ragged Fiends, prying, with taper dim, along the confines of this doleful place. We saw these beings under the low sides of the cave knocking

off some large petrifactions. We said, who are they?—and almost shuddered to find they were ourselves.

As soon as the storm ceased we set sail from the Bay, and the next evening arrived at Erie. In this harbour were several United States' vessels of considerable magnitude. The banks of the harbour, on the town side, are high, steep, and romantic; and from them there is an extensive view of the Lake. The harbour itself is spacious, and the water deep.

At this place the celebrated General Wayne died,[88] upon his return from his campaign against the Indians. Such was the success of this great soldier, and such the terror which he inspired among the savages against whom he fought, that to this day they call him the "*sinews.*" His mode of proceeding into the country of the enemy ought ever to be imitated. Indians may always be defeated by good troops, unless when the latter are ambushed, and surprised. General Wayne proceeded with the greatest caution during the forepart of the day, and [140] in the afternoon employed his men in fortifying for the night; the consequence was, that he avoided every ambuscade, ultimately met the enemy, and gave them a chastising which made a lasting impression upon their minds.

After reaping many laurels in this campaign, General Wayne was returning home to enjoy the grateful salutations of his fellow citizens; but death arrested him at Erie.—

> "The path of glory leads but to the grave."

After leaving Detroit, I received a letter from the Secretary of the Lyceum there, informing me of my having, on the evening of my departure, been admitted an honourary member of that institution. I mention this fact for the purpose of introducing an anecdote respecting it, which was communicated to me after my return home, and which afforded me much amusement.

---

[88] General Anthony Wayne died at Erie, Pennsylvania, in December 1796.—Ed.

In passing through the country, in the early stages of my tour, some weak minded persons, who thought that my excursion was so frought with danger as to render it presumptuous, were offended by the undertaking; and adding a little ill-nature to this idea, their invectives were even more keen than the wintry winds. One of these persons, whose common sense is like Shakspeare's grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff; and whose learning is equalled only by that of the good Mrs. Maleprop, exclaimed one day, upon seeing some newspaper, which contained an account of the Pedestrian having been admitted into the Lyceum at Detroit, "well, they have got him into the mad-house at last!" Mad-house? said a friend. Yes, replied this Xenophen of the age,—"the mad-house!— the Lyceum!— all the same thing!"

[141] From Erie I proceeded to Waterford, a distance of fourteen miles. At this place the snow upon the ground was eighteen inches deep. The spring in the west was very backward. I shall speak upon this topic in another place.

Waterford is a small village, and is situated on the Creek Le Beuf. At this place is a block house, which was erected during the old French war.[86] The Creek Le Beuf is about five miles in length, and about six rods wide. Between this creek and French Creek, there is a little lake, covering about ten acres. French Creek is eighty miles long, and about twenty rods in width. This creek is one of the sources of the Alleghany river, and enters it near Fort Franklin. The Alleghany river rises on the west of the mountains of this name; and after running about two hundred miles meets the Monongahela.

---

[86] For a brief history of Fort Le Bœuf, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 65.— Ed.

The Creek Le Beuf is very crooked, and French Creek considerably so. The principal boats upon these and upon the Alleghany river are called keels. They are constructed like a whale boat, sharp at both ends; their length is about seventy feet, breadth ten feet, and they are rowed by two oars at each end. These boats will carry about twenty tons, and are worth two hundred dollars. At the stern of the boat is a stearing oar, which moves on a pivot, and extends about twelve feet from the stern. These boats move down the river with great velocity. Through the sinuosities of the narrow creek Le Beuf, the oar in the stern, by being pressed against the banks, gives to the boat a great impetus.

In going up the rivers these boats are poled. The poles are about eight feet in length, and the bottom of them enters a socket of iron, which causes the point of the pole to sink immediately. This [142] business is very laborious, and the progress of the boats slow.

The land near the creek Le Beuf and French Creek, particularly the former, is low and cold. Wild fowl are here very numerous. The lands on each side of the Alleghany river, for one hundred and fifty miles above Pittsburgh, are generally mountainous. The growth of timber here is principally white oak and chesnut, and in some places pitch pine. There are on this river some good lands, and some of a very inferior quality. But some of the best of the Pennsylvania tracts lie in the north west of the state.

The banks of the Alleghany river are, in many places, exceedingly high, steep, and rocky. Whilst moving along the current they appear stupendous. The bed of this river and of French Creek is stony, and the water of them very clear. On these rivers are many rapids, over some of which boats move at the rate of twelve miles an hour. In passing down the Alleghany the scenery is delightful. The boats move with much velocity; the country scarcely seems inhabited; the mountains, almost lost to vision, rise in rude majesty on both sides of the river; the pellucid aspect of the water; the darting fish; the anxious loon; the profound solitude, rendered more impressive by the regular dash of the oar: all these, and many other circumstances, carry the mind back to the days, when the original occupants of the neighbouring wilds lived under the simple government of nature, and did not dream of the storm, which civilization was preparing for them.

On French Creek are situated Meadville, Franklin, and several other inconsiderable places. Here too are the remains of several old forts. At Fort Franklin the French formerly kept a garrison.[87] As [143] far down this river as Meadville the water is still. The principal falls on this creek and Alleghany river, are Montgomery, Patterson, Amberson, Nichalson, and Catfish. The creeks and rivers, which enter these waters, are numerous; but it is not deemed worth while to name them: the principal, however, of those which enters the Alleghany are Toby's, Sandy, Lick, Pine, and Buffalo creeks; and Crooked and Kiskernanetas rivers.[88] In some places on the Alleghany hills, there are fine farms. On the river is situated the little village of Armstrong; and behind the hills stands Lawrencetown.[89] I found marching over these mountains very laborious; but the prospects from them richly repaid me for my pains. Here I dwelt upon the situation of this vicinity about the middle of the seventeenth century; of the wars between our ancestors and the French and Indians; and of the youthful patriotism and prowess of our inimitable Washington. At the age of twenty-one, he was employed by his native State in an enterprise, which required great courage, prudence, and physical vigour. Whilst this part of the country was occupied by the French, and inhabited by many hostile tribes of Indians, he travelled from Will's Creek, in Virginia, to Fort Du Quesne, situated at the forks of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers; and from thence up the former to the French Fort on the Le Beuf.[100] During a part of this journey he proceeded on foot, with a gun in his hand and a pack on his back. This enterprise developed faculties which afterwards saved his country.

---

[87] This was Fort Venango; see Croghan's *Journals*, note 64. For Meadville, see Harris's *Journal*, volume iii of our series, note 25.— Ed.

[88] Consult Post's *Journals*, in volume i of our series, notes 22, 89, for these rivers.— Ed.

[89] Armstrong, nine miles northeast of Pittsburg, was named in honor of Colonel John Armstrong. In 1756 he led an expedition against the Delaware Indians who were ravaging the frontier, and destroyed their town at Kittanning. Lawrencetown, now Lawrenceville, is two miles east of Pittsburg.— Ed.

To eulogize this great and good man is in vain. He is so far above our praise, that we can honour him only in serving that country which he so much loved. His wisdom and virtue constitute the greatest of human examples. Our children should early [144] be taught to know, to love, and to imitate him.

The Alleghany river, near Pittsburgh, presents an expansive aspect. At this place it meets the Monongahela from the south, and both pour their waters into the Ohio. In this union there is a silent grandeur.

About two miles above this junction, on the Alleghany, is a small Fort; and here some troops are stationed. The situation of the Fort is very retired and interesting.

Pittsburgh lies in the state of Pennsylvania, and is situated on the point of land formed by the Alleghany and Monongahela. Fort Pitt occupies the scite of the old Fort Du Quesne; but even the former is now in ruins.[101] Opposite to Pittsburgh, on the Alleghany, is a considerable village, and preparation is making for building a bridge across this part of the river. There are also a considerable number of buildings on the opposite side of the Monongahela. Immediately back of these buildings there is a ridge of very high and steep hills, which contain inexhaustible coal mines. Some coal mines exist also in the Alleghany hills, and in the banks of the Ohio. Those on the west of the Monongahela, constitute a horizontal strata six inches thick and apparently unlimited in its direction through the mountain. This coal is superior to that of England: it is heavier, and contains a greater quantity of the bitumenous quality. The general price of this article at Pittsburgh is about six cents a bushel.

---

[100] For a brief account of this journey, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 45. Washington's starting point was the Virginia capital, Winchester. Fort Duquesne was not erected until 1754.— Ed.

The town of Pittsburgh, viewed from the confluence of the two rivers, presents a contracted and an unfavourable aspect; but from other situations it appears much better. Its scite is level and rather low; and the rivers, during their rise, flow for a considerable distance into the streets. The town [145] is very large. Many of its buildings are of brick, and are generally of a large size. The streets cross each other at right angles, but are quite narrow. Owing to the exclusive use of coal here, both by the manufacturer, and by private families, the whole town presents a smoky appearance. Even the complexion of the people is affected by this cause. The business of Pittsburgh is great; but is generally believed to be declining. This place is engaged in trade, more or less, with the whole western world; and may be considered the metropolis of this vast tract of country. It procures its foreign goods, principally, from Philadelphia and Baltimore; which goods are brought in waggons across the Alleghany mountains. The distance from these places to Pittsburgh is about three hundred miles; and the price of conveying the goods thither by the usual route, is from five to six dollars per one hundred weight. This place also transacts some little business with the City of New-York, by the way of the Hudson and Mohawk, Lakes Ontario and Erie, and the river Alleghany. Provisions in Pittsburgh are, generally, cheap. Foreign goods, however, are necessarily high.

---

[101] For information regarding these forts, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, notes 11, 12; F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, *op. cit.*, note 20.— Ed.

This place is celebrated for its manufactories, and will become the Birmingham of America. Here, one may see the surprising progress, which the people of this country are making in mechanics of almost every kind, both as it respects invention and workmanship. Indeed it is evident, that in the United States the elements of the body politic are all in the most healthful action, and that we are rapidly approaching to a glorious manhood. We have only, in our progress, to guard against two evils:— an undue attachment to money, and too little regard for sound morals and solid learning. The extraordinary attention, which has of late been paid to the [146] moral and religious education of children, promises to furnish for the future service of our country, men of *true* wisdom;— "men who will fear God and hate covetousness."

Speaking merely as a politician, I may say, that a due regard to this part of education is the great desideratum in civil government. But in relation to a future state the subject is of infinitely greater consequence. Our sabbath schools, in which children are taught to commit to memory the Sacred Oracles, have been attended with such wonderful success, that they appear to be forming a new epoch in the progress of the Christian Religion. This is a field in which thousands can do much good. Heaven has thus opened a new vineyard, in which almost any one may remove the noxious weed, and nourish the tender plant.

Ship and boat building is actively carried on at Pittsburgh; but of late no vessels of a large tonnage have been made, on account of the dangers incident to getting them down the Ohio. Very few of the vessels and boats built here ever return up the river so far as this place; and of course there is here a constant demand for new vessels. Strangers from every part of the sea board, generally take this place in their way to the West. Emigrants from every quarter are continually arriving here, and stand in need of boats of various kinds to transport their goods and their families. A great many foreign emigrants, particularly those of them who are mechanics, are often arriving from New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, to Pittsburgh; and from the latter place some of them pass on to the manufacturing establishments further west.

The sects of christians in Pittsburgh are very numerous. The Christian Religion is so momentous, and, *in some respects*, so mysterious a subject, that it [147] is perfectly natural for people, in looking beyond those of its principles, which are easily understood, and which are sufficient to make plain before us the path of duty, to be divided in opinion respecting it. This would be the effect, in a greater or less degree, upon all abstract questions, or upon questions involving principles beyond the reach of our intellectual vision. The human mind too, is prone to dispute upon unessential points; and here, principally, arises pride of opinion, and the spirit of persecution.—There is nothing in the questions themselves to ennoble the mind, or to give force and dignity to its investigations. It is upon trifles, that even great minds become passionate.

Nearly all the sects of christians subscribe to the doctrines of faith, repentance, holiness, and charity; of course the great variety of sects do not call in question the consistency of God's holy word.

Trifles give rise to sects; pride supports, and novelty obtains proselytes for them. Upon these trifles are, from time to time, engrafted views and objects of more weight, and hence the sect becomes respectable.— A congregational society becomes divided on account of some petty dispute upon a minor question involved in church discipline, or in relation to taxation for the support of the ministry. The consequence is, that in a few weeks an episcopalian, and a baptist, and perhaps other societies become established in the same town. Where the oppositionists will not resort to a new form, some variations will be suggested, and texts of scripture will be found to sanction them.— The protestants gave rise to the sect of puritans; and the presbyterians have created the sect of seceders.

No man who is acquainted with the human mind and heart, and who is well versed in ecclesiastical history, will ever suffer himself to be partial to one [148] sect above another of sincere and pious christians. A man cannot say, that, under certain circumstances, he might not himself become a bitter sectary. What has been may be again; and what may be may be now.— Our righteous ancestors fled from the persecuting hand of christianized Europe; and, in America, they, in their turn, persecuted unto death the sect of Quakers. Where was their humility!— where was their charity! I would sooner trust a mad man than a religious zealot; and I should think that man weak minded, who would not be perfectly and equally willing to engage in public worship with any sect of pious and sincere christians on earth.

Many people pretend to know too much respecting the mysterious parts of religion. The great apostle of the Gentiles, who, as a man, possessed a powerful and highly improved mind, and, as a christian, abounded in grace said, that "here we see through a glass darkly;" yet mere babes in the knowledge of the christian system, pretend even to demonstrate concerning it, what, in the nature of things, is not demonstrable. In young ministers this is the foppery of learning; and in old ones clerical pride.

Many persons too, are dissatisfied with the light which exists upon this subject; and hence arise fruitless speculations, and ultimate unbelief. God has sufficiently enlightened our path to futurity; and he has condescendingly done it, to quicken us in the christian course, and to cheer us in the hour of death. Instead, however, of gratefully considering this expression of kindness as a gift, we look, with discontent, for the development of the whole counsel of Heaven concerning us:— this is pride!— this is presumption!

But I may add, that if this light affects *only* the reasoning powers of man, it will never, *in my humble* [149] *opinion*, eventuate in that faith which is necessary to the production of a pure heart and holy life. The *moral* as well as the intellectual man must be enlightened. True faith resides altogether in the heart.— This is the theatre of hope and fear, joy and sorrow, love and hatred;— the theatre of guilt, and of repentance; the theatre of rebellion, of obedience, and of prayer.

As I dislike to see a layman in theology, or a theologian in politics, I shall say no more upon this subject.

The people of Pittsburgh are not, generally speaking, remarkable for their sociability. They are very attentive to their business, and seem to care but little about those around them. A next-door neighbour is, with them, frequently unknown; and months and years pass, without their exchanging with each other the ordinary compliments of friendship and good will. As is the case with many of the cities of Europe, a simple partition renders unknown, for a great length of time, those who live under the same roof.

The inhabitants of Pittsburgh are very suspicious of the Yankees; and judging from the character of a few, uncharitably condemn the whole. This is more or less the case throughout the west. The Yankees are every where considered, an intelligent, hardy, bold, active, and enterprising people; but they are supposed to be excessively fond of money, and frequently to obtain it by fraudulent means.

As to the love of money it is, throughout the whole country, poisoning the fountain of individual and national respectability; but as to the means of obtaining it, the Yankees are, probably, as honest as other people.

The characteristics of the people of any particular town, generally depend upon the disposition and [150] habits of its first settlers. Sometimes these first settlers are hospitable and fond of society; and sometimes they are exclusively devoted to business, and consider every stranger, who makes his appearance among them, as actuated by the same views.

With respect to the characteristics of the people of Pittsburgh, I judge only from information which I obtained there, and which appeared to be sanctioned by the general aspect of things in relation to them.

During my short visit at this place, I became particularly acquainted with the family of E. B. Esq.; and mention this circumstance for the purpose of affording myself the satisfaction of expressing some sentiments respecting them. So interesting were they, that I have, ever since I left them, regretted the loss of their society. Mr.

B. is a German; has travelled a great deal, both in Europe and America; is acquainted with many languages; possesses very extensive information; and is a man of a sound and discriminating mind. Possessing too, much sensibility, and much delicacy of taste, his ideas are polished, and interestingly expressed. In Mrs. B. are combined good sense, simplicity, and benevolence. E**** is sensible, and innocently romantic; and in the little daughters are blended much vivacity and loveliness.

On the back part of Pittsburgh there is a rise of ground, called Grant's Hill. Here one may have a perfect view of the town; and its appearance from this position is very much in its favour. This hill was occupied by the English General Grant during the old French war; and here he surrendered to the enemy.[108] About nine miles up the Monongahela is the place called Braddock's Fields.[109] It is celebrated by the defeat there of the general of this name. These fields are also noted by their [151] being the rendezvous of the Whiskey Boys during the western insurrection in 1794. The defeat of Braddock took place in 1755. Many vestiges of this bloody engagement are still visible. It is well known that here our Washington acted as a volunteer aid to General Braddock; and by his intrepidity, and military skill, saved the English troops from total destruction. In the engagement Washington had two horses shot under him, and received four balls through his clothes.

The Monongahela river is a noble stream. It rises at the foot of the Laurel mountains, is about four hundred yards wide at its mouth, is navigable at a great distance, and its current is deep and gentle. Across this river, at Pittsburgh, an elegant bridge has recently been erected.

---

[108] Regarding Grant's defeat, see Harris's *Journal*, volume iii of our series, note 30.— Ed.

[109] For an account of Braddock's defeat, see F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 19.— Ed.

After remaining at Pittsburgh two days, I descended the Ohio for a few miles, and then landed on its western bank. The state of Ohio is situated altogether on the west of the river, and is bounded east by Pennsylvania, north by Lake Erie and Michigan Territory, and west by Indiana. The length of the river is about eleven hundred miles, and its average breadth about one half of a mile; in some places, however, its width is about twice this distance. The river is, generally, very deep, sufficiently so for the navigation of large ships. Its aspect is placid and clear; and when the water is high, is expansive and beautiful. It contains a great many islands, and is stored with a variety of fish and fowl. The river sometimes rises forty or fifty feet, and greatly endangers the settlements upon its banks. Sometimes too, the river is low and appears inconsiderable. Its sinuosities are numerous, and in the spring of the year, the abrasive effect of the floating ice and trees upon its banks is very great.

[152] The general aspect of the state of Ohio is rather level than otherwise. There are here no elevations which can be called mountains; but the country is gently diversified. The upper part of it is most hilly. West of Chilicothe it is nearly level. In various parts of the state, there are extensive prairies covered with high grass. Those near the river are small; but those in the interior are from thirty to fifty miles in extent. The soil of the state is, generally, very fertile; but as is the case every where else, some of its lands are sterile, and some unfit for cultivation. Its forests are spacious and elegant. The sycamore trees here are numerous, and some of them surprisingly large. In this and the other western states there is still considerable game; but the hand of civilization having

here wantonly destroyed much, a scarcity has, for some time, been experienced.

Most of the western states in a great measure resemble, as to their aspect, the state of Ohio. This whole range of country is better calculated for the production of grain than for the growth of cattle. The pastures here, however, are rich; and the woods so abound with nuts, that immense herds of swine are raised in them without the least expence. The climate, judging from the general appearance of the inhabitants, I should suppose much less healthy than that of New-England; and in particular situations the fever and ague, and bilious fevers are very prevalent.

In travelling from Pittsburgh to New-Orleans, I sometimes moved upon the rivers, and sometimes marched in the woods. In the latter the traveller is, during the summer season, greatly annoyed by musquetoes. Having no covering, I was often employed during the whole night in defending myself against them. Here I may observe, that from the [153] time of my leaving Pittsburgh to my arrival at New-Orleans, I slept in the open air about thirty nights. The night dews did not affect my health.

The boats which float upon the river Ohio are various: — from the ship of several hundred tons burthen, to the mere skiff. Very few if any very large vessels, however, are now built at Pittsburgh, or indeed at any other place on the Ohio. They were formerly built on this river, particularly at Pittsburgh and Marietta; but the difficulties incident to getting them to the ocean, have rendered such undertakings unfrequent.

An almost innumerable number of steam boats, barks, keels, and arks, are yearly set afloat upon this river, and upon its tributary streams. The barks are generally about one hundred tons burthen, have two masts, and are rigged as schooners, and hermaphrodite brigs. The keels have, frequently, covered decks, and sometimes carry one mast. These and also the barks are sometimes rowed and sometimes moved up the river by poling, and by drawing them along shore with ropes. The flat boat or ark is of a clumsy construction; but very burthensome. Its foundation consists of sills like those of a house, and to these is trunneled a floor of plank. The sides are of boards loosely put together, and the top is covered in the same way. The bottom of the boat, and so much of the sides as come in contact with the water, are caulked. Some of this kind of boat will carry four or five hundred barrels of flour, besides considerable quantities of bacon, cheese, and other produce. On the deck of the ark are two large oars, moving on pivots, and at the stern there is a large stearing oar. The progress of the ark is principally in floating with the current; and the oars are seldom used excepting for the purpose of rowing ashore.

[154] The business carried on by boats, on the Ohio and Mississippi, is immense. The freight of goods up and down these rivers is high; and the freighting business here is exceedingly profitable. No property pays so great an interest as that of steam boats on these rivers. A trip of a few weeks yields one hundred per cent upon the capital employed.

The arks, and, generally speaking, the keels, when they reach New-Orleans, seldom return up the river again. The former are sold for lumber.

The current of the Ohio is about four miles an hour. That of the Mississippi is rather quicker.

On the river Ohio, nearly opposite to Louisville, there are rapids, the descent of which is about twenty-three feet in the distance of two miles. Owing to this circumstance many boats do not return from below this place. This difficulty, however, is about to be removed by a canal, which will give to the river, at this place, another direction.[104] This is the only considerable obstruction in the whole course of the Ohio.

In the rapids there are three passages, and they are all taken at different times, according to the state of the river. Pilots are, by law, appointed to navigate boats down the rapids. The quantity of water in the river often varies: it sometimes both rises and falls in the course of a few hours.

Before I proceed further down this river, I must notice those parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, which lie on the Ohio. The western boundary of Pennsylvania lies about forty miles west of French Creek and Alleghany river; and west of Pittsburgh, on both sides of the Ohio, about the same distance. North-west, it is bounded by a part of Lake Erie, and south by a part of Virginia.

A part of the state of Virginia lies on the Ohio, [155] having a part of Pennsylvania on the east,[105] and Kentucky on the west. The principal waters, which enter the Ohio from Pennsylvania, are the Big Beaver on the north, and Racoon Creek on the south.

In travelling in the vicinity of the western rivers, I could not always obtain good accommodations upon them. As such accommodations, however, were of but little consequence to me, I always, when I wished to descend the rivers, jumped into the first boat I could find.— Sometimes I moved along in a keel, sometimes in an ark, and sometimes rowed myself in a little skiff. By taking this course, I not only could land when I pleased, but became particularly acquainted with the navigation of the rivers, and with the various means of transportation upon them.

---

[104] The Louisville-Portland Canal was completed in 1830.— Ed.

[105] For the Virginia-Pennsylvania boundary, consult F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 31.— Ed.

My society, it is true, was not always the best; but, perhaps, not the less instructive for this circumstance. To become practically acquainted with the world, one must see human nature in all its aspects. Sometimes I met real gentlemen, and sometimes fell in with the perfect boor. I was not known to any one; but the boatmen, frequently becoming sick, applied to me for medical aid; and hence I acquired the title of Doctor.

My prescriptions were always simple; and, *strange to tell*, I did not lose a single patient. My knowledge of the Materia Medica was, no doubt, limited. Without, however, consulting Celsus or Boerhave, I always told the sick, that in a few days, they would be perfectly well. I really suppose that men often die, because they think they shall. Much depends, in sickness, upon the state of the mind. Our intellectual and physical nature always sympathise with each other. Resistance lessens the force of an attack; and there is something [156] in the declaration, I will not be conquered! which fortifies both the mind and the body.

My next *learned* theory was, that nature loves herself; and, in sickness, requires, in many cases, only a little aid to enable her so to exert her powers as to produce the desired effect. The most simple prescriptions, if efficient, are always the best. Powerful remedies tend to disorganize the most subtle functions of the animal economy; and by curing one disease to produce a complication of many others.

But I would not call in question the importance of the profession of medicine. As to its station in the catalogue of sciences, it ranks among the very first. This profession presents to the human mind the most extensive field for investigation. The great science of physiology is its basis; and chymistry, the wonderful magician, by whom the constituent parts of matter are ascertained, the effects of their various combinations discovered, and the production of new qualities realized. The physician should be, emphatically, a child of nature, and well acquainted with the principles of her government, both with respect to mind and matter.

Upon the western rivers a great many boatmen die, and their graves upon the banks are numerous; hence those who are taken sick are, generally, much alarmed.

The boatmen of the west are conspicuous for their habits of intemperance, and swearing. Whilst on the western rivers my ears were shocked by their oaths and curses. I endeavoured to lessen this practice. To effect my object I, occasionally, associated with them; and by a kind, free, and yet grave manner, prepared the way for some friendly counsel upon the subject. They saw that I did not feel above their labours, or their modes of living. — I fully participated in their hard fare; slept across flour [157] barrels, without bed or covering, drank water from the river, and sometimes laboured at their oars. Thus I gained their confidence and their good will.

At one time, during the silence of evening, I addressed about twenty boatmen upon the subject of swearing. I represented the practice as not only wicked, but idle, low, and unmanly. They heard me with attention, some of them made many acknowledgments, and whilst I continued with them, they swore little or none. Upon many other occasions I spake to boatmen upon the subject; and from their manner, I have no doubt that the practice of swearing among them might be rendered less common. But, perhaps, there is no habit, the controul of which depends less upon the will than that of swearing. The tongue is a little member, and often moves ere the judgment can controul the impulses of the heart. A pretty lad, in one of the western boats, attracted my attention, both by his beauty and his profaneness. After speaking to him upon the subject, I offered him a dollar upon the condition of his not swearing for the remainder of the day. He was much pleased with the proposition; but after controuling himself with much watchfulness, for about an hour, he became discouraged, and partially returned to his long established practice. Let those, who are so happy as to be free from this vice, guard against the subtle influences of its example.

As to intemperance, I think it is by no means peculiar, even in degree, to this part of the country. But I am happy in being able to add, that during a tour which I took through the middle and southern states in 1815; and also during that, an account of which I am now writing, I witnessed much less intemperance than information previously obtained had led me to anticipate. Still, there is, in the [158] United States, much inebriation, and a great want of economy in the use of spirituous liquors. By the distillery of grain among us, the community are, sometimes, deprived of the necessary quantity of bread; and a substitute is furnished which tends, at once, to beggar, and to depopulate the country.

Before I dismiss these topics, I may add, that I have often heard of the low conversation, which is said to prevail among the boatmen of the west; and also of their quarrelsome and fighting habits. All these practices are much less than they are represented to be.

Here I may be permitted to observe, that with respect to low conversation, many who call themselves gentlemen, and pass for such in the world, are highly culpable. Indecency is a vice committed without temptation. It corrupts the moral sense, and deprives the human heart of all those etherial visitations, which remind man of his original innocence, and eloquently persuade him that there are pleasures far above those of sense. Indeed, how evident is it, that when we cultivate pure and upright affections, the blessed spirits of truth and peace visit our hearts, enlarge our views of moral nature, and tell us of nameless hopes. The infirmities of man would add an interest to human nature, if they were not voluntarily displayed. When covered with the mantle of an amiable and sensible delicacy, they blend the ideas of weakness and suffering here, with perfection and immortality hereafter.

That part of the state of Virginia which lies on the Ohio, extends from about forty miles below Pittsburg to Great Sandy River, the line between this state and Kentucky. The western parts of Virginia are mountainous, and a good grazing country. The soil below the mountains, though not [159] rich, is well calculated for the growth of tobacco and Indian corn. Many of the ridges of land in this state are very fertile; particularly the Blue Ridge.

The town of Wheeling, in Virginia, is situated on the Ohio, twelve miles above Grave Creek; and on this creek is a celebrated Indian grave.[106]

The principal rivers and creeks, which enter the Ohio from this state, are Charteer's, Big Grave, Baker's, Fish, and Fishing creek; and Little Kenhawa, Great Kenhawa, and the Great Sandy River.[107]

The Great Kenhawa is nearly three hundred yards wide at its junction with the Ohio; but its rapids are numerous, and its navigation very difficult. It derives its sources, through a vast tract of country, from the Laurel and Alleghany mountains on the north-east, from the Cumberland mountains on the west, and from the mountains in North Carolina near the sources of the Roanoke. On the Great Kenhawa are inexhaustible lead mines.

---

[106] For Wheeling, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 15; for Grave Creek, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 78.— Ed.

[107] For Chartier River, see Weiser's *Journal*, volume i of our series, note 18; for the Little and Big Kanawha, see Croghan's *Journals*, *op. cit.*, notes 98, 101; for Fish Creek, see Harris's *Journal*, volume iii of our series, note 37.— Ed.

The principal source of the Great Sandy River is in the Cumberland mountains. Its length is not great; and it is navigable for loaded batteaux only about fifty miles. At its mouth it is about sixty yards wide, and it enters the Ohio opposite to Galliopolis. This place was settled by a company of French emigrants; but in 1796 disease and other misfortunes caused them to abandon the establishment.[108]

The town of Steubenville, in the state of Ohio, extends for a considerable distance along the bank of the river.[109] There are here some manufactories, and several handsome dwelling-houses. Its situation is considerably elevated, and here and there are some large trees which were spared from the forest.

The first principal river which enters the Ohio, and which finds its source in that state is the Muskingum. This river is situated about one hundred [160] and seventy miles below Pittsburg, and is, at its confluence with the Ohio, nearly one hundred and fifty yards wide. It is navigable for large batteaux to a place called the Three Legs,[110] one hundred miles from its mouth, and for small

---

[108] A brief account of Gallipolis may be found in F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, pp. 182-185. The settlement was not entirely abandoned.— Ed.

[109] See Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 67, for the early history of Steubenville.— Ed.

[110] Three Legs town, so called from a famous Delaware Indian, was situated at the junction of Tuscarawas Creek and the Muskingum, near the site of the present Coshocton.

The portage path from the Cuyahoga to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, a distance of eight miles, is probably one of the oldest highways in the West, having been the route of the buffaloes across the summit of the state. It formed part of the Indian boundary line in the treaties of Fort McIntosh (1785), Fort Harmar (1789), and Fort Wayne (1795). A road built between ones to its source, which is within seven miles of the Cayahoga. The Muskingum presents a gentle appearance, and near its banks there are valuable salt springs, and considerable quantities of coal and free stone.

The town of Marietta is situated on the east of the junction of the Ohio and Muskingum.[111] Its position is pleasant; but it has a deserted aspect, and is rapidly declining. It is not true, that the Muskingum is not subject to inundations. All the banks of the western river are, more or less, exposed to freshets; and this circumstance considerably lessens the value of the lands and buildings upon them. At the mouth of the Muskingum stands Fort Harmer.

The Hockhocking is rather smaller than the Muskingum, and is situated about twenty-five miles below the latter.[112] On the banks of this river are quarries of free stone, iron and lead mines, pit-coal, and salt springs. There are some fine lands on both of these rivers.

The town of Athens lies on the Hockhocking, about forty miles from the Ohio. It is pleasantly situated, and is the seat of the Ohio University.

The River Scioto is even larger than the Muskingum. It is navigable nearly two hundred miles, and is connected with the river Sandusky, which enters Lake Erie, by a portage of four miles. On the Scioto, about one hundred miles from the Ohio, is the town of Chilicothe.[113] This place is the seat of government. Not far from the Scioto, are salt

---

these two streams in 1898, followed almost exactly this old portage trail. See Hulbert, "Indian Thoroughfares of Ohio," in Ohio Archæological and Historical Society *Publications*, volume viii.— Ed.

[111] For the early history of Marietta and Fort Harmar, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 16.— Ed.

[112] On the Hockhocking River, consult Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 99.— Ed.

[113] For a brief account of Chillicothe, see F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 35.— Ed.

springs, which belong to the state; also coal, free stone, and several kinds of valuable clay.

[161] The town of Cincinnati[114] is situated on the east of the Great Miami, near its junction with the Ohio. This town is pleasantly situated, and presents the appearance of much business. It is a very flourishing place. There are several manufactories here, one of which is situated at the foot of the bank, and is eight or ten stories high.

In Cincinnati is situated Fort Washington. This is the first of that chain of forts which extends west. On the eastern branch of the Great Miami is Fort St. Clair; and on the western branches Forts Jefferson and Greenville. On the river Calumet, which enters the Wabash, stands fort Recovery; and just above this fort is the place of St. Clair's defeat.[115]

The Great Miami is the boundary of the state of Ohio on the river of this name. The Great Miami is about three hundred yards wide at its mouth, and interlocks with the Scioto, above Chilicothe. One of its branches runs within four miles of the Miami of the Lake, and within seven miles of the Sandusky. The bed of the Great Miami is stony, and its current rapid. Just above its mouth is fort Hamilton.

---

[114] Regarding the early history of Cincinnati, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 166.— Ed.

[115] Fort Washington — afterwards within the limits of Cincinnati — was established (1789) by Major Doughty opposite the mouth of the Licking River, to protect the frontier from the Indians. Generals Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne used it as headquarters in conducting their Indian campaigns.

About sixty-five miles north of Cincinnati, St. Clair built Fort Jefferson (1791) as a base of operations during his Indian campaign.

Fort St. Clair was a stockade built by the general of that name in the winter of 1791-92 to keep communication open between Fort Jefferson and the Ohio River.

For Fort Greenville, see Buttrick's *Voyages*, *ante*, note 32. After constructing Fort Greenville, Wayne sent a detachment to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, twenty-three miles to the north, where they established Fort Recovery, December, 1793.— Ed.

There are many small creeks and towns near the Ohio, which in my course I saw and visited; but which furnish no interesting materials for remark. Besides, I am not writing a Gazetteer; and with geography, my fellow-citizens are well acquainted.

I may here speak, as I promised, upon the probable course of the seasons in the west. I am much inclined to believe, that the cold seasons, which the people of New-England have for many years experienced, and which have so much injured the interests of agriculture among us, are passing off to the west; and that the people of the west will, for several years, experience seasons less favourable than usual. My opinion is founded upon the facts, that for the two last years we have experienced more favourable [162] seasons, and the people of the west less favourable ones, in the same comparative proportions. This is a good criterion by which to form an opinion upon the subject. The change of seasons in both sections of the country prove and corroborate each other.

The spring and summer of 1817 were, with us, less unfavourable than usual. The hopes of our farmers, and of those who depend for a sufficiency of provisions upon an abundant market, were considerably revived; and this year we have experienced something like a good old-fashioned season. The golden ears of corn, more beautiful than the productions of the richest mines, have again brightened our fields, and cheered our hearts. Had ungenial seasons continued much longer, this part of the country would have become impoverished and depopulated:— people were going down into Egypt for bread.

Last year the seed time and harvest of the west were unfavourable; and the spring of 1818 was in the highest degree unpromising. In the western parts of Virginia, where the climate is, usually, warmer than on the east of the mountains; and in the states of Ohio, Kentucky, &c. planting time this year was very backward. When, according to the usual course of the seasons, it was time for corn to appear above the surface of the ground, ploughing had not commenced. Some of the farmers asserted, that the season was even later than the spring before by five or six weeks.

During the month of May, the weather in the west was cold and windy. On the 3d of this month the birds were assembling for a more southern climate. They were so chilled that I caught many of them without difficulty; and others of them perished in the night. The season for the commencement of [163] vegetation here is probably four weeks earlier than in New-Hampshire.

Until my arrival at New-Orleans the weather, generally, was cold and dry; and even here the wind was frequently cool. About the middle of May I experienced frost in Kentucky; and near the Mississippi the cotton, much later than this, was in a wretched state. In Tennessee, heretofore remarkable for the excellence of its cotton, this article, for two years past, has been rapidly degenerating. The severity of the last winter even in New-Orleans, was unparalleled. The streets there were covered with ice sufficiently hard to bear loaded waggons.

Should Heaven favour the New-England states with good seasons, no country in the world would be preferable to it. Our unfavourable seasons have taught us our dependence upon that Being, "who prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh grass to grow upon the mountains."

I am of opinion, that for some years to come, our seasons will be remarkably fruitful. The earth here has, for a considerable time, been acquiring strength, which has not been called forth; and having been accustomed to cool seasons, warm ones, operating upon this new acquisition of vegetative power, will cause an extraordinary impetus in the soil.

I have spoken of our bright Indian harvest. The corn of the west is much inferior to ours. Growing upon a rank soil, its production is rapid, and the kernel is large and unsubstantial. Indian meal is seldom used in the west, excepting for cattle; and very few persons there are acquainted with the Yankee mode of making Indian cakes. Being fond of this coarse bread, I frequently, during my tour, instructed the gentle dames of the west in this New-England custom. But in many cases, after waiting [164] an hour for my repast, I was deprived of most of it by the fondness of the children of the house for this new dish; and in one instance the *kind* mother could get rid of them only by knocking them under the table as fast as they would come up.

The variety of birds which I saw in the western woods excited much interest. Many species entirely new to me made their appearance. Some of them were very beautiful. Many of these birds being common in the South of Europe, proves that the climate of the west is mild; and the spontaneous growth of hops and grapes here speak favourably of its soil.

Fruit trees, particularly peach and apple, flourish well in Ohio; but a more northern climate is more peculiarly calculated for the latter.

The western country is exceedingly well adapted to the growth of hemp; both as it respects its climate, and its extensive levels of deep and rich mould. This advantage, and the abundance of excellent ship timber, and iron, which its forests and hills produce, would enable it to furnish for the market the finest ships. The black walnut here is said to be as durable as the live oak; and the frames of vessels built upon the western waters, are frequently made of this wood. There is here too, an abundance of excellent yellow pine, suitable for masts and spars. These, with many other kinds of lumber, are rafted and floated down the rivers to New-Orleans, and there sell at a high price. Upon these rafts large quantities of produce are often transported to the same place.

The produce carried down to this vast market consists, principally, of flour, corn, pork, beef, bacon, venison, flax, whiskey, lumber, and live stock, particularly horses. The foreign goods received into the western states, lying on the Mississippi and [165] Ohio, and their principal sources, come, as has been observed, from Philadelphia and Baltimore, by the way of Pittsburg. This place is the great depot for the supply of all places below it. Foreign goods to a large amount are also brought from New-Orleans; and some from Virginia, by the way of Richmond.

In speaking of large vessels on the Ohio, I may add, that ships of large tonnage have been built on this river, laden for the West-Indies, and there sold, both vessel and cargo. A person in Europe, unacquainted with the geography of our western waters, would be astonished to see, in the Atlantic ocean, a large vessel, freighted with country produce, which was built and laden at Pittsburgh, between two and three thousand miles from the Gulf of Mexico.

How wonderfully impressive is the prospect, which this country presents to the politician, during his cogitations upon our remote destinies! Every thing is conspiring to render the United States far more populous than Europe. In the course of a few hundred years all that is great, and splendid will characterize us.— The arts of Greece, the arms of Rome, the pride of England will be ours. May God avert the rest!

Whilst on the Ohio, I was pleased with the appearance of the floating grist-mill used on this river. This kind of mill is supported by two boats, and the wheel moves between them. The boats move both up and down the river, and when employment can be obtained, they are placed in the strongest current near the shore, and the mill is set in motion. Here there is no tax for ground rent, mill-dam, or race.

In speaking of mills, I may advert to one which I saw in Indiana, and which excited some interest. As I was one day passing through a wood, near a [166] small log building, I heard a singular noise in the latter, and had the curiosity to look in. There was here a grist-mill moved by a horse, and attended by a little boy about nine years of age. The horse draws upon a stable fixed in a post; but making no progress, he pushes back with his feet the platform upon which he stands, and which is of a circular form. Through the centre of this platform there is a post fixed in the ground. The walking of the horse sets the machinery in motion. The cogs, the wallower, the trunnel-head, and the stones operated pretty much in the usual way. The Lilliputian miller displayed all the airs and importance so common to the managers of such noisy establishments.

In the state of Ohio, and in other places in the west, are some natural curiosities, with respect to which I must not be silent; but as I can probably throw no light upon the mystery in which they are involved, my remarks upon them will be brief.

As to the bones of animals which have been found at the Licks, particularly at that called the Big Bone,[119] I think there can be no doubt, that they are those of animals which, from a variety of causes, have perished there. Animals in the west were once very numerous, and, no doubt, vast herds of buffalo, elk, deer, and even the mammoth resorted thither. Probably many of them fell into these licks, either by accident, by contention, or by their eagerness to get to the salt, and were thus destroyed. Some too probably killed themselves by the quantity of salt water which they drank; and where such vast numbers were constantly assembling, many must have died in consequence of disease and old age.

---

[119] For the Big Bone Lick, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 104.— Ed.

Much less plausible suppositions can be suggested relative to the vast mounds and walls of earth in the west; the former of which, it is said, contain human bones.

[167] It may be presumed that these walls were erected for the purpose of defence. It is well known that savage tribes wage with each other the most destructive wars. Some of the tribes of North America have distinguished themselves by their blood-thirsty and exterminating disposition. The Iroquois were once the terror of all the neighbouring tribes. By their hostile and ferocious spirit many of these tribes became nearly extinct. Of the Nadonaicks only four cabins or families remained. The Puans too, were not less formidable and fierce than the Iroquois. They violated every humane principle. The very name of stranger embittered them. They supposed themselves invincible, and persecuted and destroyed every tribe whom they could discover. There were other tribes similarly disposed.

Now it may be supposed, that the tribes in the neighbourhood of those whose object it was to exterminate all other tribes, would assemble for mutual defence. Coalisions of this kind are not unfrequent among savages. Further: nothing would be more natural than for savages, thus situated, to erect fortifications of trees and earth, for the purpose of securing themselves against the common enemy. Such a principle of self-defence would be natural, and, of course, universal.

As to the mounds of earth, supposed to contain human bones, it may be observed, that several tribes of Indians may have combined and fortified themselves against their enemies; and in this situation they may have been conquered and destroyed. It is well known, that in Indian battles there is no quarter given. The dead bodies of several thousand persons thrown together and covered with earth, would make a vast heap. But even supposing that the enemy had not prevailed, famine, contagious [168] diseases, or even ordinary causes of death, would, among a great assemblage of people, produce, in a short time, a sufficient number of bodies to make on the surface of the earth a vast mound. Covering the dead with mounds of earth instead of digging graves for them, might not only be found convenient, under certain circumstances, but is a custom peculiar to the aborigines of America.

The finding of one or two pieces of ancient coin in the west has occasioned much speculation. A copper coin, bearing Persian characters, has, it is said, been found on the banks of the Little Miami river.

It is well known, that mankind are naturally itinerant; and that they carry with them their goods, especially those which are portable, and which they highly value. A piece of coin possesses both of these qualities; and it would not be more strange to find an Asiatic medal in North America, than to find here an Indian of Asiatic origin.

Our first parents were created in Asia; and the rest of mankind descended from them. By emigrations various distant portions of the world have been settled. Emigration was an act of necessity. One quarter of the world could not have contained all mankind; and the population of Asia became, in time, too great. Asia is at this time supposed to contain five hundred millions of people; and in China, such is the excess of population, that children are destroyed by their parents, with as little ceremony as though they were the offspring of the most worthless domestic animals.

It is to be presumed that the Continent of North America was peopled from the north-east of Asia. In no other way could the Western Continent have, so early, become known. The north is not, even now, known beyond the latitude of eighty-two; and [169] with respect to it thus far there is much doubt. The eastern and western continents may be connected near this latitude; and in this direction the aborigines of North America may have travelled from the former to the latter. Certain it is that the water between the north-east of Asia, and the north-west of America is comparatively shallow. In Bering's Straits, situated in the latitude of sixty-six, there are many islands; the width of the straits is only about fifty miles, and, in winter, the passage across is frozen.

Even here the eastern and western continents, were perhaps, once connected. Such an idea is not inconsistent either with the nature of things, or with analogy. The earth has experienced, from time to time, great revolutions; and Strabo, an ancient and celebrated geographer, speaks of the time when the Mediterranean Sea did not exist. Why may not the two great continents have been or still be united as well as those of Europe and Africa? There is in the north-east of Asia much more evidence of its former connection with the north-west of America, than there is of a similar connection between Europe and Africa, inasmuch as the water between the former is unquestionably shallow; and between the latter it is very deep.

Besides, what adds great weight to the general supposition that the original settlers of the western continent emigrated from the north-east of Asia is, that in many particulars they resemble the inhabitants of the latter. Many of the islands of Bering's straits, and also both of its coasts, are peopled; and their occupants are much in the habit of emigrating.

The original inhabitants of South America were probably, the descendants of the aborigines of North America; and emigrated from the latter to the [170] former across the Isthmus of Darien. Nothing is more natural than for people to emigrate from a northern to a southern latitude; and this course was, no doubt, taken, in a greater or less degree, by all the original inhabitants of North America. All the North American Indians, with whom we are acquainted, excepting the Esquimeaux, now reside south of their supposed track from the eastern to the western continent.

In South America, as in other warm countries, the modes of living become more refined than in climates further north; and in the history of the former we see the same diversity of character as existed in North America. Many of the tribes of the north might have been compared with the Peruvians of the south, a mild and inoffensive people; and the Iroquois and Puans of the former, with the Chilians and Caribs of the latter.

As to Persian coin being found in North America, it is not more surprising than the finding of Roman coin in Great Britain. The same effect may arise from different causes. It was probably, not more easy for Julius Cæsar to invade Britain, than for the Asiatics to emigrate to North America.

In dismissing this subject I may observe, that all the accounts from the west are not to be immediately credited. Many, to please their fancies, and more, to fill their purses, speak hyperbolically respecting it. A great man who prided himself upon his penetration, once being questioned as to the causes of some supposed appearance in nature, assumed a wise phiz, and deeply reasoned upon the subject. Stop, my friend, said the quizzer, had you not better first inquire as to the matter of fact?

After passing Great Sandy River, which is a boundary line between Virginia and Kentucky, I entered this state. The general aspect of the country [171] here is nearly level. Near the Ohio, however, for fifteen or twenty miles, the country is broken, hilly, and even mountainous. In clambering some of these mountains I experienced considerable fatigue. They are so steep, that one can ascend them only by taking hold of the bushes on their sides.

There are in Kentucky scarcely any swamps or very low lands. The soil of the levels is rather thin; but on the swells and ridges the soil is exceedingly fertile. A bed of limestone exists, five or six feet below the surface, throughout the principal part of the state. In consequence of this circumstance its springs, in a dry season, soon become exhausted. This state is inferior to all others, with respect to mill privileges, inasmuch as very few of its streams stand the usual drought of autumn.

This state furnishes, in the greatest abundance, all the articles which the State of Ohio produces. It raises, besides the ordinary objects of agriculture, vast quantities of hemp, and considerable tobacco. Several millions of pounds of maple sugar are made here annually; and the woods of this state feed immense droves of swine. The rivers abound with fish, and the cane brakes support herds of deer.

In travelling through some of those thickets, I was impressed with a high idea of the luxuriance of the soil. Indeed, the general aspect of the country here evinces great fertility of soil, and mildness of climate. In this state grow the coffee, papaw, hackberry, and cucumber tree; also the honey locust, mulberry, and buck eye. Many accounts respecting the fruitfulness of Kentucky are, no doubt, exaggerated; but it is, in fact, an abundant and delightful country. For my own part, however, I prefer, to its rich levels, the echoing hills of New-Hampshire.

[172] As this part of the country abounds with interesting vegetation, I may here make a reflection or two upon botany. How infinite is the vegetable kingdom! and how far beyond expression is the variety and beauty of her hues! these tints are heavenly; and the pencil of nature has displayed them to render man heavenly-minded. How wonderful too, are the affections and sympathies of plants! Here the poet finds an exhaustless source of imagery, and here every vicissitude of life may select its appropriate emblem.

The whole of the north-westerly parts of Kentucky is bound by the river Ohio. A small part of it lies on the Mississippi; and this river, so far, is its western boundary. Tennessee lies south of it. The principal rivers in Kentucky which enter the Ohio are Sandy, Kentucky, Cumberland, and Tennessee. The sources of these rivers are very numerous, and in proceeding to the Ohio fertilize a vast tract of rich country. The Tennessee passes through a small part of Kentucky. The Cumberland runs into Tennessee, and then extends through a considerable part of Kentucky in an east and west direction. Its principal sources are in the Cumberland mountains. This river furnishes every material for ship-building; and during the rainy season can float vessels of the largest size. Nashville,[117] in Tennessee, lies up this river; and much business is transacted between this place, Pittsburg, and New-Orleans. The river is navigable without any obstruction, for five hundred miles, and is, at its mouth, about three hundred yards wide.

---

[117] An account of the early history of Nashville is given in A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 103.— Ed.

On the banks of Kentucky river are many precipices, some of which are three or four hundred feet high. In these precipices may be seen much limestone, and some fine white marble. This river is about two hundred miles in length, and in width [173] two hundred and fifty yards. In this state are many celebrated salt-springs. Its iron ore is of a very inferior quality; and its caves and other natural curiosities are highly interesting. Lexington, the capital of Kentucky, is an elegant and polished place.[118]

Many of the inhabitants of this state emigrated from every part of the United States, and from most of the countries of Europe. A great many of them came from Virginia; and, unfortunately for our common country, they brought with them their slaves. What a source of regret is it, that Kentucky did not prohibit, within her jurisdiction, the bondage of these friendless beings! A sense of propriety, and a regard for the reputation, and true interests of the United States, should have taught the guardians of her public weal to wash their hands from this foul stain. The first settlers of this state found themselves in a land where all was nature, and all was liberty. The rivers poured their unrestrained tribute, the winds blew where they listed, the earth teamed, the birds flew, the fish leaped, the deer bounded over the hills, and the savage knew no master. Enviable situation! But the scene is marred. There, *human beings* toil and sweat under the lash of a task-master. It is said that slaves are treated well! They are,— and *ill*! A slave *is* a slave, in spite of all the logic of avarice, indolence, and purse-proud humanity. Power creates tyranny; and in the hands of a tyrant no man is safe. The sufferings of the slave, even in the United States, are sufficient to sink any country into perdition. A record of them would make us run mad with shame. Ask the mother how she fared, both before and after her deliverance. Ask these children of toil what it is to die for want of repose? — What it is to perish under the lash?

---

[118] For an account of Lexington, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 61.— Ed.

[174] Some of the United States have, in their constitutions, set their faces against this unbecoming,— this odious practice. Had the western states followed the example, the evil would have been, principally, confined to the southern states; and these states, finding that upon their shoulders alone rested the terrible responsibility involved in the subject, would have applied a remedy. The evil is now spreading. In Kentucky,— a garden planted in the wilderness,— a land, where liberty dwelt for six thousand years, there are *herds* of *slaves*. May the states, which shall hereafter impress their stars upon the banner of our union and our glory, guard against this wretched state of things; and may the slave-holding states, ere long, make a noble, generous patriotic, and humane effort, to remove from human nature this yoke of bondage, and from their country this humiliating stigma!

The great, but inconsistent Burk, in speaking of the southern states says, that the planters there, seeing the great difference between themselves and their slaves, acquire, thereby, the spirit of liberty. For my own part, however, I should think this circumstance would create the fire of aristocracy, which prides itself in power, and in subjugation.

There are many towns in Kentucky, which lie on the Ohio, the principal of which is Louisville. This place is situated just above the rapids of the Ohio and near Bear Grass Creek. Its scite is commanding and pleasant, its aspect spacious, and it contains many large and elegant buildings. At this place resides the intrepid Colonel Croghan.[119] Opposite to Louisville the river Ohio is more than a mile in width. Much ship building is carried on here; and at this place boats and vessels, going down the river, stop for a pilot. Ships of four hundred tons have [175] passed down the rapids. The river is, generally, in its highest state between February and April.

Opposite to this place, on the other side of the Ohio, is the town of Jeffersonville; and two miles below, on the Kentucky side, is a small place called Shippingport.[120] At this place boats, bound down the river, generally land for the purpose of leaving the pilot, and of obtaining information as to the markets below. Near the rapids is situated Fort Steuben.[121]

The road from Louisville to Shippingport lies on the bank of the river, and on the river side of it are groves of large sycamore trees. Below the latter place, for fifty miles, the river is truly beautiful. In the vicinity of Louisville are some noble plantations. Some of the planters here sow five hundred acres with wheat, set twenty ploughs a-going in one field, keep sixty horses, several hundred negroes, and carry on distilling, coopering, and other trades.

---

[119] On the settlement of Louisville, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 106.

The plantation of "Locust Grove" was the estate of William Croghan, Colonel George Croghan's father. William Croghan (1752-1822) came to America from Ireland when quite young, and embracing the American cause, served through the Revolutionary War, being colonel of Neville's Fourth Virginia regiment in the battle of Monmouth. He settled at "Locust Grove" soon after the Revolution, and became an honored and respected citizen of Kentucky.— Ed.

[120] For Jeffersonville, see Flint's *Letters*, volume ix of our series; for Shippingsport, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 171.— Ed.

[121] Fort Steuben (at first called Fort Finney) was a subordinate post erected in 1786 upon the grant to the Illinois regiment not far from Clarksville. From 1786 to 1790 Colonel John Armstrong was in command. It was abandoned shortly after 1791. This must be distinguished from the fort higher up the Ohio, that formed the nucleus of Steubenville. Some remains of the old buildings connected with the former fort were to be seen as late as the middle of the nineteenth century in Clark County, Indiana. See English, *Conquest of the Northwest* (Indianapolis, 1896), ii, p. 863.— Ed

A few miles below Cincinnati, on the Kentucky side of the river, is situated the plantation of the late General Pike.[132] It was interesting to see the residence of this great man. He was a true patriot; and possessed all the hardihood and intrepidity of Charles the twelfth. After serving his country for many years, and acquiring her confidence and love, he nobly died under her triumphant banners. Among a free and virtuous people, the fate of one brave man kindles the latent spark of patriotism in ten thousand hearts, and in his example, they find inspiring lessons of courage and devotion.

Limestone is situated on Limestone Creek in Kentucky.[133] This is a pretty considerable place, but the river has so far encroached upon the bank upon which it is situated, that it, probably, will fall in the course of a few years. Indeed I believe, that this will ultimately be the fate of many places on the immediate banks of the Ohio. Even Marietta, and [176] Cincinnati, are, probably candidates for speedy ruin. I should not be surprised to hear that the very next freshet had produced such an effect. With respect to all these places, the abrasion of the banks is constant, and hundreds of buildings are situated near their verge. The owners of these buildings have already incurred much expense, in endeavouring to secure the banks where their individual property stands; but there is no union in these efforts, and the means employed are totally inefficient. Most of the towns on the Ohio are every year partially inundated, in consequence of the astonishing rise of the river. The banks are frequently overflown to the depth of twenty feet.

---

[132] Brigadier-general Zebulon Montgomery Pike, born in New Jersey in 1779, was a lieutenant in the United States army, when, in 1805, he was given command of an expedition to trace the Mississippi River to its source. Having made this journey and obtained land from the Indians for a fort at the Falls of St. Anthony, he was sent the following year to explore the Arkansas and Red rivers. Ascending the Arkansas to the mountains, and discovering Pike's Peak, but unable to find the source of the Red, he came upon the Rio Grande, and there was taken prisoner by the Spanish, and sent to Santa Fé. While in command of an expedition against York (Toronto), Canada, in 1813, he was accidentally killed by the explosion of a magazine.— Ed.

[133] For a brief account of Limestone, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 123.— Ed.

Opposite to Cincinnati is Licking River. This river is navigable about one hundred and twenty miles. On its west bank, near its junction with the Ohio, is the town of Coventry; and on the other side is Newport. They are both considerable places, and present an elegant appearance.

In travelling through the woods, a few miles from this river, I met with several species of birds which I had never before seen. Nature's fondness for variety is conspicuously displayed in all her works; and I am surprised that naturalists have not noticed this circumstance, so as to furnish, at least a plausible argument, in the disquisitions of philosophy concerning the human race.

At the junction of the Ohio and Cumberland rivers is the little town of Smithland.[124] A more miserable looking place exists no where. It contains a few wretched buildings, some of which are occupied for the accommodation of boatmen. Here the slaves are more numerous than the whites, and many of the former appear far better in point of morals and intelligence.

Before I leave Kentucky, I may touch upon a [177] topic, which distinguishes her, and many of the Southern and

---

[124] Smithland, the capital of Livingston County, Kentucky, enjoyed considerable trade with the interior of Tennessee, being a point for the reshipment of goods up the Cumberland. Its prosperity was shortlived, however; in 1850 the population was twelve hundred, and in 1890 five hundred and sixty.—Ed.

Western States, from those of New-England. The practice which prevails in the former of individuals publicly tendering their services to the people, pending elections for representatives, may, in the abstract, be productive of some evils; but relative to the systems of intrigue, which exist, in a greater or less degree, in every state in the Union, it is a practice which policy dictates, and patriotism sanctions. A large concourse of people, listening to the animated oratory of rival candidates, may experience some excitement; but is not this a less evil than those which arise from the dark and silent operations of abandoned men, who have combined for their own exclusive advancement, and for the purpose of keeping out of sight those, whose virtues and talents, by coming into contact with theirs, would render their darkness visible?

The safety of our government, rests upon the existence of good principles; and the preservation of these principles depends in no small degree upon their being patronized, and rewarded. Under such a government as ours, every political proceeding should be fair and open. No intrigue should be countenanced. The people should be able to see every cause and effect of the political machinery. Virtue, talents, and patriotism, should be encouraged; and vice, ignorance, and selfishness, discountenanced. The latter should never be suffered to obtain the patronage of the people through private intrigue, and the agency of petty coalitions. But this will always be the case, where political management may be cloaked under the bustle of party spirit and mock-patriotism.

No wise man will, unless prompted by a sense of duty, arising from the perils of the times, ever wish [178] for the toils, and the responsibilities of office; or ever expose himself to the caprice of the multitude. But there may be seasons when, *owing to the corrupt practices incident to* *party spirit*, the jargon of ignorance, and the pretended patriotism of villainy, shall have usurped the management of public concerns, and have cypherised the community, it would be the indispensable obligation of the true patriot to tender his services to his country, to discountenance existing systems of political traffic, and thereby to restore to the people their consequence, their security, and their reputation.

After being sometime in Kentucky, I crossed the Ohio and entered Indiana.

This state lies on the river Ohio, from the Great Miami to the Wabash. On the east is the state of Ohio, on the west Illinois; and on the north-west Michigan. The form of Indiana is that of an oblong. The sinuosities of the Ohio, however, render its boundary here very uneven. The length of the state is about 270 miles, and its breadth 130.

The soil, climate, face of the country, and productions of this state resemble those of Ohio. Salt springs, coal pits, lime, free stone, and valuable clays of various kinds abound in Indiana; and on the Wabash, it is said there is a silver mine.

The salt springs of the west generally produce a bushel of salt from about one hundred gallons of the water. This water is frequently obtained by boring, from sixty to two hundred feet, through solid rock. There is, in the west, springs of salt petre; and in Indiana there are very valuable salt springs, which belong to the United States, and which are profitably managed by the government.[128]

The Prairie in Indiana, called Pilkawa, is a high level ground, seven miles long and three broad. Its [179] soil is very rich, and upon it there was never known to be a tree.

---

[128] These salt springs in the vicinity of Saline Creek, in southeastern Illinois, were ceded to the United States (1803) by an Indian treaty negotiated by Governor Harrison at Fort Wayne. For several years they were leased by the general government, but in the Illinois enabling act were granted to that state. They were a subject of state litigation for a period of thirty years, the last one being sold in 1847.— ED.

Vincennes, the capital of Indiana, lies on the Wabash.[126] Here the commerce of the state principally centres. Goods from Canada pass into this state down the Illinois river. From New-Orleans they proceed up the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash; and from the eastern and southern states by the way of the Ohio and last mentioned river.

In this state, on the river Ohio, is the celebrated Swiss settlement.[127] The situation does not present a very favorable appearance, and I apprehend that much success is not experienced in the making of wine there. It appears to me that a more favorable tract for this business might be found in Kentucky. The soil of this state is lighter and warmer than that of Indiana.

Near the Swiss settlement I met with many trees and bushes quite new to me. The thorn bush here produces thorns, which would answer the purpose of nails. They are three inches long, and so sharp and hard that they can be pressed, with the hand, through an inch board. The buck-eye, of which I have spoken, is, probably, the horse chesnut of Europe. The magnolia bears blossoms very beautiful and fragrant. The coffee tree resembles the black oak, and bears a pod enclosing a seed, of which a drink is made, not unlike coffee. The papaw resembles the locust, or custard apple tree, and bears a pod, containing several very rich kernels, of the size and colour of a tamarind.[128]

---

[126] For an account of Vincennes, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 113.— Ed.

[127] With reference to the Swiss settlement at Vevay, see Bradbury's *Travels*, volume v of our series, note 164.— Ed.

[128] The Ohio buckeye or horse-chestnut is the *Æsculus glabra*; the Ohio species is the mountain magnolia or *Magnolia acuminata*; the coffee tree (*Gymnocladus canadensis*) resembles the black oak; the papaw tree is the *Asimina triloba*.— Ed.

The principal river in Indiana is the Wabash. The banks of this river are high and fertile, and its aspect very beautiful. It is navigable, at certain seasons of the year, upwards of six hundred miles. White, Theakiki and Calumet rivers are its greatest tributaries.[129]

[180] Just above Vincennes is Fort Knox, and a little above the latter are situated the Watenaus.[130] The Pootewatomies are settled not far from the southerly end of Lake Michigan. It may here be observed, that the Indians of North America, especially those who reside within the boundaries of the United States, are continually changing their place of residence; that they divide their tribes into many small societies, and each of these occupy one village. These societies, although of the same tribe, frequently acquire a new name. Hence arise, in part, the almost innumerable number of names, which suggest the idea of new tribes. Different names too, are sometimes given to the same tribe or society. But the tribes of the north and west are still very numerous. It has been supposed that our government is too desirous of obtaining Indian lands upon fair purchase. As to this particular I can only say, that many tracts which are sold, are not worth a cent to their occupants, in as much as they have ceased to be good hunting grounds, and the owners are about to abandon them.

The river Tippecanoe is a branch of the Wabash. It is well known that in 1811 a bloody battle was fought on the former, between the Americans and Indians.[181] The history of this engagement is very interesting. It is worth one's while to recur to it. Our troops, headed by the intrepid Harrison, penetrated through a dreary wilderness for the purpose of destroying the Town of the Prophet, who, together with Tecumseh, a brother of his, had been endeavouring to excite, in several tribes of Indians, hostile feelings towards the United States. The troops of Harrison were, during their march, surrounded and menaced by many hostile tribes. After arriving at their place of destination, they encamped for the night. Just before day light the [181] next morning, a furious and determined onset was made by the Indians, and a bloody contest ensued. Before our troops could form, there were engagements, man to man, in the tents. The tawny Indian and the hale soldier grappled for mastery. The march of the Americans had been very laborious and fatiguing; and both by day and by night the strictest watch, and the utmost readiness for action had been maintained. But flesh and blood must have repose. The soldier slept upon his arms. He saw the approach of the savage, but awaking, found it was a dream. He slept, and dreamed again; — he awoke no more: — some of our troops were found dead, and even scalped in their tents. This was a night full of horror. It was dark and rainy, and the air was rended by savage yells.

---

[129] The Theakiki is the Kankakee, a tributary of the Illinois, not of the Wabash. Calumet River empties into Lake Michigan and does not connect with the Wabash.— Ed.

[130] A fort was established by the French at Vincennes early in the eighteenth century. Upon passing into the hands of the British, it was renamed Fort Sackville. George Rogers Clark marched from Kaskaskia and captured it (1779), changing the name to Fort Patrick Henry. In 1787, Major Hamtranck was stationed there with a detachment of infantry, and its name was once more changed to Fort Knox, in honor of the first secretary of war.

For a brief account of the Ouiatanon (Watenans), see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 85.— Ed.

The vigilant Harrison was up, and giving orders, just as the attack commenced. Our officers and men quickly stepped to their posts. In their way they met the savage foe, and contended with him in darkness. The General ordered all his fires to be immediately extinguished; his troops were soon formed, and the contest was, for some time, maintained with unabated fury. The result is well known.

---

[181] The people of Indiana Territory believed the Indian chief Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were stirring up a general Indian war; and, wishing to anticipate them, Governor William H. Harrison led an attack on the Indian village at the confluence of Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River, November 7, 1811. The Indians were driven back and the village burned, but Tecumseh continued plotting, and took ample revenge during the War of 1812-15. See Pirtle, *Battle of Tippecanoe*, Filson Club *Publications*, xv.— Ed.

Those of our countrymen, who fell in this engagement, deserve our grateful remembrance; and those who survived it should be rewarded.

After the battle the wounded suffered exceedingly. Carried in waggons over so rough a way, their ligatures were loosened, and death daily lightened the load. In this contest the renowned 4th regiment breasted, with an immoveable aspect, the fury of the savages; and thereby saved from destruction the rest of the troops. Many of the militia, thus supported, behaved well; but some of them fled, like whipp'd curs, under the baggage waggons.

[182] Colonel Davies,[132] who fell upon this sanguinary field, possessed a high military genius. His enthusiasm was lofty; and had he survived this bloody conflict, the last war would, probably, have felt his giant energies. Other great souls fell on this trying night; but my humble records cannot do them justice.

Near the head waters of the Wabash some of the Kickapoos are settled; and here too the Shawanese have some of their hunting grounds.[133] This last idea suggests the subject of Zoology. There is no topic in nature more interesting than this. The great variety of species which this genius presents, and the dispositions peculiar to each, render this subject an inexhaustible source of instruction and entertainment. From the animal world, man may derive important lessons in relation to industry, economy and perseverance. Indeed, here are displayed all the passions and affections incident to human nature;— all that is exalted, and all that is mean: — the generous courage of the lion, the selfish cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the bull dog, and the fawning of the spaniel. Here is a fund of simile illustrative of dispositions, manners, and morals, which are exceedingly forcible.

---

[132] Colonel Joseph Daviess was of Scotch-Irish descent, born in Virginia in 1774. His parents removed to Danville, Kentucky, while Daviess was a lad. He studied law with George Nicholas, and became one of the ablest and most successful lawyers of the state, serving as United States attorney 1800-07. During this period, Daviess brought in an indictment against Aaron Burr (1806) which caused great excitement and animosity. He was noted for his eccentricities as well as his courage, and his death on the Indian battle-field won him wide fame. Counties were named for him both in Kentucky and Illinois.— ED.

[133] For the Kickapoo and Shawnee Indians, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, notes 108, 111.— ED.

The relations of this subject are too numerous for incidental remark. Unless the whole of it is embraced, one hardly knows where to begin, or where to leave off. That part of natural philosophy, which relates to the animal and vegetable worlds, have an intimate connexion with moral nature. The whole creation presents to the human mind the most engaging subjects of contemplation;— subjects which speak to his heart, and eloquently persuade him to love and adore his Heavenly Father. The Scriptures derive from this source moral and religious illustrations, which are truly impressive: In the 80th [183] Psalm the Deity speaks of his chosen people under the similitude of a vine brought out of Egypt; and on account of transgression, "the boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it." David, in representing the happiness, security, and comfort of a christian spirit, exclaims, "the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself;— even thine altars, O Lord of hosts!" And in speaking of the universal care of Providence, he says, "He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry." Jeremiah too, in censuring the Jews for their insensibility and impenitence, declares, "yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of *their* coming: but my people know not the judgment of the Lord." Lastly, how *supremely* interesting, in view of the innocence of the lamb, is the exclamation, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world!" The Author of the Scriptures is, indeed, the great God of nature; and in his Word, he has employed that wonderful pencil, with which he has garnished the heavens.

The opossum of Indiana is said to possess peculiar qualities. This animal has ever excited the attention of naturalists, by its extraordinary means of cherishing and securing its young. Under the belly of the opossum is a bag, composed of a thick skin completely lined with soft fur, and this skin fully covers the animal's teats. Into this bag the young of the opossum lie; and, in a time of danger, the parent closes this bag, the young hang upon her teats, and in this situation she endeavours to escape from her pursuers.

It is well known that the opossum, at its birth, is remarkably small; but the account which I received [184] from an intelligent farmer of Indiana, in relation to this particular, is almost incredible. This account, however, seems to be supported, analogically, by the testimony of naturalists. The young of the marmose, a species of opossum, is, when first born, not larger than a bean. This animal has two longitudinal folds of skin, near the thighs, in which her young are comfortably kept until they acquire strength enough to take care of themselves.

The Indiana planter says, that the young of the real opossum has been found, in the bag described, not larger than a grain of barley. We may here inquire, in what way the opossum is propagated? The above account of the young of the opossum is not absolutely incredible. Nature's modes of production are astonishingly various. Aristotle says, that she abhors a vacuum; and certain it is, that she dislikes similarity. Some of her animated existences she produces through the instrumentality of one sex, some of two, some of three, and some without any sex. The snail is an hermaphrodite; and some shell-animals in the East-Indies require, in order to their production, the union of three individuals. The polypus is very prolific, and yet is destitute of sexual distinction. Upon its body appear protuberances, similar to buds upon trees, and these are the real animal in miniature. Whilst in this state, they are nourished, apparently, as buds are nourished by sap, and when they are capable of taking care of themselves, they fall off like ripe fruit.

Two other peculiarities of the opossum are its dread of water, and indifference to fire. It is said that this animal, upon being slightly stricken, pretends to be dead; and continues to appear so even when its paws are burning off; but when put into water it immediately becomes alarmed, and struggles to save itself. Naturalists say, that this animal subsists, principally, upon birds.

[185] Leaving the state of Indiana, I passed into the Illinois Territory. This territory is generally level, but I think it more diversified than Indiana. The Illinois Territory is of immense extent. It is bounded on the east, by Lake Michigan and Indiana; on the south, by the Ohio river: on the south-west and west, by the Mississippi; on the north by Lake Superior; on the north-west by the Lake of the Woods; and west-south-west, by the most northern source of the Mississippi. It constitutes the whole of the North-West Territory, excepting Ohio, Michigan, and In-

diana, and contains about 200,000 square miles, exclusive of the waters of Lake Superior and Michigan.

The meadows on the river Illinois are very extensive. The aspect of the river is expansive and gentle; and at its confluence with the Mississippi, it is about four hundred yards wide. The other principal rivers in this territory, are the Ouisconsin, and Fox rivers. The former runs very near Fox river, which enters Lake Winnebago. This Lake is the nearest average point of communication between the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the Gulf of Mexico. On the Illinois river, there is pit coal, salt springs, and in other parts of the territory, lead and copper mines. Between the rivers Kaskaskias, and Illinois, there is an extensive tract of rich land, which terminates in a high ridge. In this fertile vale are a number of small French villages.[184]

There is a communication, between the Illinois river and Lake Michigan, by the way of Chicago river, and two small portages.[185] The Illinois strikes the Mississippi about twenty miles above the Missouri, and its principal branch runs in the direction of Detroit.[186]

The principal towns in the Illinois Territory are Kaskaskia, Cohokia, and Goshen.[187] Shawne town [186] lies on the Ohio, and is an inconsiderable place.[188] Here are several taverns, a bake-house, and a few huts. Some of the settlements in Illinois are ancient, and very considerable.

---

[184] A brief account of the early French settlements in Illinois may be found in A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, notes 132-136.— ED.

[185] From the Des Plaines, the northern fork of the Illinois, one portage led to the Chicago River, the other to the Calumet, which empties into Lake Michigan at the present South Chicago.— ED.

[186] The Kankakee River, called by the French Theakiki. For these early routes of water travel, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvi, p. 372.— ED.

[187] The present Madison County in Illinois was explored about 1799, and called Goshen. The village of that name, about five miles southwest of Edwardsville, was begun in 1800.— ED.

[188] For the founding of Shawneetown, see Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 108.— ED.

Formerly there were about twenty tribes of Indians inhabiting the Illinois Territory; and a large proportion of the lands here still belong to them. The Winnebagoes still reside on Fox river; the Saukies on the upper part of the Ouisconsin; and the Ottiganmies near its mouth.[139]

Fort Massac is situated in Illinois, near the mouth of the Ohio.[140] Its site is elevated; but the adjacent country is frequently overflown.

The Illinois Territory possesses a fine climate, a variety of rich soils, and many peculiarities, which are calculated to render her, at some future period, a very distinguished state.

About ten miles beyond Cumberland river, on the Ohio, is the river Tennessee. This river finds its most remote sources in Virginia, passes through the state of Tennessee from east to west, and in its course enters the State of Mississippi. This is the largest source of the Ohio. It pursues its course about one thousand miles before it enters the Ohio, and at its junction with it, its width is about six hundred yards. It is navigable, for the largest vessels, to the Muscle Shoals, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. These shoals are about twenty miles in length; but the navigation here may be easily improved.[141]

---

[139] On these Indian tribes, consult Long's *Voyages*, volume ii of our series, notes 85, 86.— Ed.

[140] For the early history of Fort Massac, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 139.— Ed.

[141] The "Muscle Shoal" Rapids fall within northern Alabama. The improvement of the Tennessee at this point was long under discussion. In 1825 commissioners were appointed by the governors of Tennessee and Alabama to report thereupon; three years later a survey was made by order of the department of war, relative to removing obstructions in the channel. A canal around the rapids was begun (1829), but about that time railroads began to absorb the

At no far distant period, a considerable part of the produce of the Ohio, and its tributaries, will, probably, find a market in West-Florida, instead of New Orleans. This will be more particularly the case, should Pensacola become the property of the United States; and of this event there can be no doubt. It will soon become ours by purchase, or by [187] conquest. For an honest purpose Spain, or her secret ally, will not wish to own it; she will, therefore, forfeit it by transgression, or when it shall become useless to her in this respect, she will sell it. There can be no doubt, that, ere long, East-Florida, and that part of West-Florida which belongs to Spain, will become ours.[10]

Pensacola, Mobile, and other places on the coast of West-Florida will soon become places of immense trade. The great cause of the business and wealth of New-Orleans, is the union, which there takes place, between a vast inland and foreign commerce. Such a union at Pensacola, or Mobile would be much more advantageous. The planters on the Ohio and its waters, could carry their produce to these markets at much less expense; and the shipper could here freight vessels for its exportation at a lower rate.

Boats on the Ohio, instead of passing into the Mississippi, may ascend the Tennessee as far as the Muscle Shoals, or within fifty miles of them, and then entering the Tombecbee by a canal, which may easily be made, pass down to Mobile. The current of the Tennessee to the Muscle Shoals is gentle, and boats may be pushed up the

---

attention of the Southern states, and the War of Secession following, it has never been completed. The necessary improvements in the river channel have finally been made by the United States government.— ED.

[10] The diplomatic negotiations leading to the purchase of Florida were long and involved, and grew out of the attempt to fix the boundary between West Florida and the United States. The treaty was signed in 1819, Spain ceding East and West Florida and the United States paying five million dollars.— ED.

stream without much expense. Coosee river, a branch of the Alabama, also approaches very near to the Tennessee; and from the Alabama to the river Perdido, near Pensacola, the distance is very small.

If these ideas are correct, the trade of New Orleans, both foreign and domestic, will not increase so rapidly as might otherwise be expected. It is well known, that the expense attending the navigation of vessels up the Mississippi to New-Orleans, and in passing from thence to the mouth of the river, is frequently great. Vessels are sometimes from thirty to sixty days in ascending this river to the city; and in descending it the detention, both on the [188] river and at the pilot-ground, near its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, is often considerable. Besides, the danger attending this navigation is far from being small.

Should the produce of that part of the Western Country, which lies on the Ohio, pass into the Tombecbee and Alabama rivers, Mobile will rapidly increase; and should the United States acquire a right to Pensacola, it will probably become, in time, one of the greatest commercial places in the world. No maritime city will, in this event, possess a back country so extensive, rich, and populous; and none more completely combine the energies of inland, and foreign commerce. The harbour of Pensacola is one of the best in the world.

Before I leave the Ohio, it may be well for me to introduce a general idea of the courses of this river. Its minor sinuosities are too numerous to mention. From Pittsburg, this river proceeds in a north-west course about thirty miles;— west-south-west, five hundred miles;— south-west, one hundred and seventy miles;— west, two hundred and eighty miles; — south-west, one hundred and eighty miles;— and the residue of the distance, west-south-west.

The Ohio is a wonderful river. Its utility, and beauty are highly conspicuous. Its banks, where not cultivated, are covered with a thick growth of trees, and bushes, which, bending over the water, yield a prospect at once serene and rich. Some of the banks, especially on the upper parts of the river, are covered with lofty forests of sycamores.

The fish in this river are of various kinds; among which is the cat-fish, weighing from five to one hundred pounds. The fish in the western waters are generally very fat.

Whilst on the Ohio, and near the mouth of the Cumberland, I witnessed a deer hunt, if it may so [189] be called, which excited no little sensibility. Several keels were passing silently down the current. It was noon-day, and the river was full, expansive, and calm. The men on board of the boats espied, a mile ahead, several deer swimming across the river. One of the deer had proceeded nearly half way across, when the skiffs belonging to two of the keels were manned, and went in pursuit of him. Each skiff contained two oars-men, and one in the bows with a boat hook. The rival skiffs ploughed through the silver stream. The deer retreated towards the wood; but one of the boats outsped him. He was now between two enemies. The scene was interesting: I almost prayed for his rescue. For twenty minutes the fate of this guileless animal was doubtful. The calm which prevailed seemed to listen to the dashing oar, the successless blow, and the almost breathless efforts of the poor deer. At length all was silent; the boats were on their return;— no deer was seen in the river. The tired, yet sprightly oar, told the tale of death; and nature, for a moment, seemed to darken on the scene.

The deer was a buck, two years old, remarkably large, and elegantly proportioned. When I beheld this bleeding victim, and heard the boatmen's song of triumph, my heart involuntarily exclaimed, if men must butcher, for Heaven's sake, let them not do it in mirth!

Viewing the Mississippi from the banks of the Ohio, its appearance is narrow, and confined; but it is, generally, much wider, and in many places expansive and elegant.

All the sources of the Mississippi, above the Ohio, are not yet known. The Missouri, however, is, no doubt, its largest tributary, and perhaps its main branch. The principal source of the Mississippi above the Missouri appears to proceed from Bear lake.

[190] The river Missouri is several thousand miles in length, and runs in a direction north of west. This part of the country has been explored by order of the American Government; but so vast is it, that many years must elapse, and much population be introduced into it, before information, to be fully depended upon, can be obtained respecting it. We have, by the efforts of Lewis and Clark,[148] and other hardy spirits, obtained some general ideas respecting the vast tract of country, between the mouth of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean, which will assist us in making more particular discoveries; but at present, caution should be exercised in relation to every record which is made upon this subject. The American people are considerably interested in it, and, of course, will be disposed to believe every assertion in favour of the country. Our government, it appears, are preparing for several expeditions into the interior of the Louisiana purchase. It certainly is well to be engaged, during the present season of

---

[148] In 1803, President Jefferson secured a small appropriation from Congress, which enabled him to carry out a long-cherished plan of sending an exploring party across the continent. May 14, 1804, the expedition of Lewis and Clark started up the Missouri River, reached the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Columbia, November 1, 1805; and returned to St. Louis, September, 1806. See *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Thwaites's ed., New York, 1904).— ED.

tranquillity, in ascertaining our boundaries; in order that our resources may be known, and that, having the whole state of the nation before us, we may know what policy to pursue towards its respective parts, how to guard against evils which may be apprehended, and to promote interests which may present themselves to our view.

The principal town in the Missouri Territory is St. Louis. This town is very pleasantly situated, about fifteen miles below the river Missouri, and contains two or three hundred houses. St. Genevieve is situated about seventy miles below St. Louis.[144] Near this place are inexhaustible lead mines. St. Louis is rapidly increasing, and is the centre of the fur trade, west of the Mississippi. It is probable that the country west of the river Missouri is elevated and broken, and contains a great variety of ores. It is probably too, a very rich fur country.

[191] How far the Louisiana purchase will ultimately prove beneficial to our country, time alone can determine. It was certainly of consequence to us to possess the right of deposit at New-Orleans; and this, it is presumed, might have been acquired without a purchase of the soil. We were rich enough in territory, and in every other physical means of rendering ourselves a great and a happy people. I am aware, however, that wealth is beneficial, if it does not corrupt. In the hands of the virtuous, it is a mean of doing good.

I am also sensible that there was a powerful motive for the purchase of the soil, in relation to a change of government in the city of New-Orleans. To this place the people of the west would, as a matter of course, resort for a market. In relation to this particular, lies the principal motive, and the principal objection with respect to the purchase; and whether it shall prove beneficial or otherwise, depends upon ourselves. If the manners of this city shall not be improved by our own population, who may emigrate thither, where will be the moral advantage of the purchase? Indeed will not our citizens, by its being their own territory, more readily imbibe, and more freely communicate the corrupt practices of this place? But, if by the praiseworthy conduct of our citizens residing in New-Orleans, immorality shall be checked, and good principles introduced, then, indeed, it will prove a purchase, not only for our country, but for mankind. Should this be the case, those demoralizing effects, which could not but have been apprehended from the intercourse between our citizens and the mixed multitudes of Louisiana, will not only be removed, but in the place of these exotic weeds will flourish our own indiginous plants. There were, no doubt, other motives for the purchase, but whether they ought [192] to have operated under such a political system as ours is questionable.

---

[144] For St. Louis, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 138; for Ste. Geneviève, see Cuming's *Tour*, note 174.— Ed.

The United States resemble, in many particulars of their history, the Jewish nation; and it is not improper to say that we are a peculiar people. We seem to be treading in every direction, upon the heels of the savages: they are receding, and we are following them.— Happy shall we be if we eye the hand which leads us, and the stretched out arm which supports us!— happy will it be for us, if instead of corrupting those whose places we occupy, we do them good, and teach them to be virtuous!

When we behold the United States every day extending their boundaries, and increasing their resources — when we see the moral and physical energies of a single constituent part of the Union, in possession of more real force than many of the states of Europe, we are astonished at our own power, and our own responsibility. Millions are yet to be influenced by our example. It is impossible that so much power, and so much enterprise should remain inactive. Our western boundary will, ultimately, be the Pacific Ocean; our northern, the North Pole; our southern, the Isthmus of Darien; and on the ocean we shall have no competitor. May our justice ever direct our power, and may we be the patron and protector of oppressed nations.

Before I proceed from the Ohio towards New-Orleans, it may be observed that what is generally understood by the Western States and Territories, is all that part of the territory of the United States, which lies west of the Alleghany mountains, and east of the Mississippi river.

I have expressed a few general ideas upon this vast and excellent tract of country. Much more might be offered; but it would be both useless, and improper to retail the records of geographers. [193] However few may be my statements upon this subject, they shall be dictated, exclusively, by my own observations.

I may add, that the timber of the west is much more various than that of the east, and equally useful. The sugar-maple tree is here so numerous, that they would probably supply the whole United States with sugar. The Spanish oak is peculiar to the west. Here too, are the lynn tree, gum tree, sugar tree, iron-wood, aspin, crab-apple, bark-spice, leather-wood, &c. &c. The sugar-tree produces a sweet pod, like that of a pea, and furnishes very nutritious food for swine.

The weather in the west is milder than on the Atlantic coast; but it is also more changeable. Rheumatism, pleurisies, consumptions, billious complaints, &c. cannot but prevail here. The exhalations from the earth, and rivers is great, and the general aspect of the people, situated near these rivers, is pale, emaciated, and feeble; but in these respects the country, in time, will be less disagreeable.

The earth here, in summer, is covered with a luxuriance of vegetation, which, together with the absence of varied scenery, sicken the eye, and heart of the traveller. In some places one can, after a shower, almost hear the earth teem. The very atmosphere seems fattening to the cattle; and garden weeds grow in great profusion upon the uncultivated grounds. The cane, which grows here, bears a wide leaf, like those of herds grass; and for cattle it is palateable, and nourishing. The stalk of the cane is used for angling poles, and for making chairs, looms, &c.

I now suppose myself on the banks of the Mississippi. The average width of this river is about a mile, and its length, from the mouth of the Ohio, is [194] about twelve hundred miles. It contains a great many islands, some of which are several miles in length, and its course is very serpentine. Owing to the soil in its vicinity being alluvian, it frequently changes its course. Sometimes its tributaries inundate the whole country on both sides of it. The banks of the river are generally a little higher than the adjacent country; the water, therefore, which rises over them never returns, but passes off into the swamps. These swamps are very extensive, and being incapable of cultivation, will ever render the climate of this part of the country insalubrious. During freshets the water of the Mississippi breaks through points of land of the width of many leagues. By these inundations vast trees are uprooted, carried into the main channel of the river, and there lodge. In consequence of these circumstances the navigation of the river is very dangerous. Hundreds of boats, laden with valuable cargoes, are annually wrecked, and destroyed here. Here too, sudden squalls, attended with severe thunder and lightning, are frequent. Even on the Ohio, there is, at times, such an undulation of the water, as to render being in a small boat very dangerous. Upon the appearance of squalls on the Mississippi, the boats put ashore as soon as possible; and it is interesting to see them moving in with so much labour, bustle, and difficulty. There is frequently much danger in landing, and the boats in doing so sometimes make a great crash.

The principal obstructions to the navigation of the Mississippi, are sawyers, planters, and snags. The first are trees, the tops of which are fixed in the bed of the river near a strong current; which causes them to rise and sink, so as to resemble the action of a saw in a mill. These make a formidable appearance, and are very dangerous. Sometimes [195] the sawyers continue under water for fifteen or twenty minutes, and then instantaneously rise above the surface, to the distance of eight or ten feet. They frequently make their appearance very near the bows of the boats, in which case much judgment, and activity are necessary to escape the impending destruction. Some of the sawyers do not appear above the surface at all; and by being concealed, are the more dangerous. Planters, are trees likewise lodged in the bed of the river, but they are immoveable. These trees, at first, lie horizontally; but by the force of the current, the end up the river is raised, and sometimes presents a sharp point considerably above the surface of the water. Snags, are trees which lie upon the shoals of the river; and the branches of them extend into the channel. There are several difficult passes on the Mississippi, in which these obstructions abound. The principal of these passes, are the Devil's Race-ground, and Picket-Island passage.

During the last summer two steam-boats, and many boats of other kinds were sunken by planters. Floating barrels of flour are often seen in the Mississippi; and hundreds of barrels of wheat, and hogsheads of tobacco, lie on its shores in a state of ruin.

The thunder and lightning which prevail on this river are truly grand; and the sunken islands here are interesting. This effect was produced by the earthquakes, which were experienced in the west in 1811. The traveller too, on the bank of Mississippi, frequently sees huge masses of earth fall from them into the bed of the river. These masses sometimes constitute an acre, and are covered with a heavy growth of trees. The noise, occasioned by the falling of the banks, is as loud as distant thunder, [196] but far more impressive. It speaks of nature's final grave.

There are other dangers incident to the navigation of the Mississippi. The falling banks frequently crush the boats laying along side of them. Boats too, are sometimes dashed to pieces upon huge masses of wood, which, having lodged near the shore, continue to accumulate so as to produce near them a very rapid current. The fogs, which sometimes exist on this river, are so thick that one cannot see an object at the distance of fifty feet. The whirlpools in the Mississippi appear formidable; but they are not sufficiently large to endanger boats of a considerable size.

The general aspect of the country on both sides of the Mississippi, from its junction with the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, is perfectly level and exceedingly rich. A very few situations near the river are higher than the adjacent country, and the soil of these eminences is sandy and sterile. The timber in this part of the country, is in some places very large, but generally it is small, and apparently young. The soil here is subject to such frequent revolutions, that sufficient time is not allowed for trees to obtain their full growth. The banks of the river are not, generally, high enough to warrant settlements upon them; consequently almost the whole country, from the Ohio to Natches, is a pathless wilderness. This is particularly the case with respect to the western bank of the river. Much of the Louisiana purchase is not worth a cent.

Below Natches, there are a great many superb plantations, and the country is under a high state of cultivation. Here, however, the water of the river is confined to its bed by a levee, or embankment.

[197] The cane thickets near the banks of the Mississippi are very luxuriant; and the extensive groves of willows upon them form an impervious shade, and present a gloomy aspect.

About fifty miles below the mouth of the Ohio, on the west bank of the Mississippi, stands New Madrid.[145] Owing to destructive freshets and other causes, it is unflourishing.

After leaving this side of the river, I entered Tennessee on the east. This state is bounded on the Mississippi, from the Iron Banks to one of the Chickasaw Bluffs,[146] a distance of about one hundred miles. The length of the state is four hundred miles. That part of Tennessee, which lies on the Mississippi, is a perfect wilderness, and inhabited, principally, by Indians. In and near this part of the state reside the Cherokees and Chickasaws. The Chickasaws have always been well disposed towards the United States, and their physiognomy and general appearance are much in their favour. The language of this tribe, and of the Choctaws is very similar. The Cherokees were once very numerous; but being much disposed to war, and frequently contending unsuccessfully with the northern Indians, their numbers have become small, and their spirits broken. The Chickasaws are likewise the remnant of a great tribe. They originally resided further west; and were slaughtered by the Spaniards, towards whom they still entertain much hatred.[147]

---

[145] On the founding of New Madrid, see Cuming's *Tour*, note 185.— Ed.

[146] See Cuming's *Tour*, notes 188, 189, for information regarding these bluffs.— Ed.

The principal rivers which run directly from the state of Tennessee into the Mississippi, are the Obian, Forked, and Wolf rivers. Just below the latter is Fort Pike.[148] Some parts of Tennessee are so mountainous as to be even incapable of cultivation; but its soil generally is fertile, and on the banks of the rivers very rich. Some of its mountains are stupendous. The state is exceedingly well watered; [198] and its principal rivers are the Mississippi, Tennessee, Cumberland, Holston, and Clinch. The face of the country is uneven, and presents a pleasing variety of aspect. Although its eminences are fertile, and its levels rich, it contains some barrens, similar to those of the Carolinas and Georgia. The productions of this state are unlike to those of Ohio; and it also produces large quantities of cotton, tobacco, and some indigo. It is too, well calculated for rice. Its commerce is similar to that of Kentucky; but it derives many of its foreign goods from Virginia, by the way of Richmond, as well as from Philadelphia, and Baltimore, by that of Pittsburg.

Indigo is raised upon a rich, deep, and mellow soil well pulverized. The seed is sown in beds, during the month of April. The stalk is cut three times a year, and steeped for eight and forty hours. The impregnated liquor is then drawn off, and lime water added, to produce a separation of the particles of indigo from the aqueous fluid. This fluid is then again drawn off, and the indigo spread to dry. Afterwards it is pressed into boxes, and whilst soft, cut into square pieces. Finally, these pieces are placed in the sun, until they become hard, and then are packed for the market.

---

[147] An interesting description of these Southern Indian tribes may be found in Roosevelt, *Winning of the West* (New York, 1889), i, pp. 49-69. See also, brief notes in our volumes i, pp. 34, 75; iv, p. 287.— Ed.

[148] Fort Pike was maintained for only a few years. The location proving undesirable, the troops were removed to Fort Pickering.— Ed.

The state of Tennessee is, in many respects, peculiar. It will become a great, and a polished republic. Its mountains, rivers, minerals, fossils, botany, zoology, and natural curiosities, all promise developments of much interest to the philosopher, politician, and man of science.

In marching through the woods, near the banks of the Mississippi, nature presents, to the traveller from the east, a novel aspect. In moving hundreds of miles, he does not see a single rise of land. His eye is pained by the absence of variety; and he feels [199] that he would undergo much labour to obtain the prospect of a hill-country. Here too, in the spring and summer, he sees nothing around him but the most umbrageous growth of trees, bushes, and cane. The earth here teems with a sickening luxuriance; and the perpetual hum of myriads of musquetoes, and other insects, renders the rays of the sun doubly oppressive. The musquetoes near the Mississippi are very large, and not at all ceremonious. When in the woods, my nights were rendered completely sleepless by them.

In bathing in this river, I found the water remarkably soft. It is well known that the human body is much less buoyant in fresh than in salt water; but the water of the Mississippi is conspicuous in this respect: many persons, who were good swimmers, have fallen into this river, and in a moment were seen no more. After travelling in the heated wood, and being much bitten by musquetoes, I found bathing in the Mississippi very refreshing. The water of this river is always thick, so that a tumbler full of it will deposit a sediment of one sixteenth part of the whole. It is, however, not very unpalateable, and is, I think, not unwholesome.

The fish in this river are numerous, and large; but they are too fat to be delicate. Geese, ducks, and swan, are also numerous here. The latter are very beautiful. Wild ducks, with their broods, are frequently seen moving in the coves of the river, and numerous paroquets occupy the trees on its banks.

The swan is well known; but pleasure is derived from dwelling upon the beauties of this bird. There is nothing very interesting in its colour; but its milk-white feathers, connected with its large size, renders this species of bird an object of attention even in this respect. The grace of its motions, however, [200] is indescribably charming. The mild majesty of its appearance, when moving upon the calm and glassy bosom of the water, and the wonderful elegance of the positions and motions of its neck, excite admiration. Poets feign, that the swan, in the hour of death, beguiles the pains of dissolution with the most plaintive notes. It is no doubt true, that her voice, at such a season, charms the ear of those who love to feel innocent and resigned. The ways of nature are wonderful; and she enables man, by her operations, to catch some faint impression,— to receive some prophetic foretaste of the sublimity of her principles, and the eloquence of her sentiments.

The paroquet is smaller, and more beautiful than the common parrot. They go in flocks, and their notes are rapid, harsh, and incessant. It is remarkable, that this bird is subject to a disease resembling apoplexy.

There is much music near the Mississippi. Amidst the silence of the wood, rendered even more impressive by the umbrageous aspect of the trees, by the teeming earth, the darting serpent, the creeping turtle, and the hum of innumerable insects; — amidst this silence, the bag-pipe, or violin, or fife, strikes the ear with an almost celestial sound.

Sometimes the busy silence of nature is interrupted by the fall of a bank of the river; and sometimes the whoop of the Indian, hunting in the wood, tells the traveller to tread lightly in his path.

On board of a boat, on the Mississippi, into which I stepped for a few hours, there was a lad from the Highlands of Scotland. He had with him his bag-pipe, trimmed with plaid, and he tuned his instrument to several interesting airs, connected with the history of his country. During his exhibitions, there was in his countenance something singularly wrapt, which, to those acquainted with the fortunes, manners, [201] and national characteristics of the Scotch, could not fail to produce much effect.

Whilst in Tennessee I met with a whole tribe of Indians, who were about going to war with some tribe situated north-west of them. As they were about to cross the Mississippi, some persons on board of a descending boat whooped at and insulted them. The Indians fired upon the boat, but no injury was done. How natural is it to man to persecute the unfortunate and weak! How natural is the abuse of power! The Indians are a wronged, and an insulted people. Their cruelties, no doubt, surpass description.— Their conduct is by no means justifiable; but how can we rationally expect from them that human mode of warfare, which is the consequence of civilization? Their revenge, is the natural effect of their weakness. They improve every opportunity to lessen that power, which, they fear, is destined to destroy them. And what should they do with prisoners? They have no extraordinary means of feeding them, and no castles for their confinement. Besides, think of the examples which have been set them by England, by France, by Spain, and by America. Many a harmless, humane, and magnanimous Indian, has been murdered, in cold blood, by the sons of civilization; and many a charge of robbery and murder, committed by white men, has been made against the peaceable, and inoffensive children of the forest. But I wish to be understood, that I believe the disposition of the General Government of the United States towards the Indians, to have ever been fair and friendly.

The boatmen on the western waters are great marksmen, and pride themselves in sharp shooting. One morning, whilst on the Mississippi, a solitary little duck, probably not a fortnight from the shell, passed the bows of the boat, on board of which I [202] then was, and the captain immediately raised his rifle to blow this little being to pieces. How wanton in cruelty is man! The young duck, conscious of its danger, plied, with all its might, its little feet and wings. I pitied its pert and apprehensive spirit, and seizing the captain's gun said, he is yours,—I will give you a dollar for him as he is. The captain accepted my offer, and the little duck hiding himself under the reeds of the shore, we passed on.

After being sometime in Tennessee, I crossed the river, and entered the Missouri Territory. There is no great difference between the soil and aspect of the country here, and those of the Tennessee side of the Mississippi. In the latter, however, there are some rises of land, called banks and bluffs, which present a sandy and an unproductive appearance. The bluffs are known by the words first, second, third, and fourth bluff. The aspect of the second one is interesting, and is evidently one of the ends of those mountainous ridges in Tennessee, which, passing into South-Carolina and Georgia, terminate in the vast savannas of the Alabama and Appalachicola.

The musquetoes are more troublesome on the Missouri than on the Tennessee side of the river. The smoke of my fire would hardly keep them at a respectful distance;

and the only way to avoid, by night, being completely blinded by them, was, to cover my face with small bushes. No covering of cloth could resist their stings.

The river near the lower part of the Missouri Territory is very crooked, and the islands numerous. These islands are formed by the current, during freshets, cutting through the soil and making new channels for itself. The islands are covered with trees and bushes, but are low, and frequently overflown. Near some of these islands I saw many pelicans. [203] This bird interested me because it is both a scriptural and poetical bird. David said, "I am like a pelican of the wilderness," and the poets of fabulous times supposed that she nourished her young with her own blood.

The seasons of the greatest rise of the Mississippi are early in the spring, and in July. During the latter period the crops are on the ground, and of course much damage is sustained. But here I may again observe, that the country on the Mississippi, for a thousand miles below the Ohio, is, with a very few exceptions, a perfect wilderness; and that much of it will never admit of cultivation. The rise of the river, frequently appears to be occasioned by some secret causes, operating beneath the surface. Indeed it is to be presumed, that many of the sources of the river proceed from under the surface of the adjacent land.

On the banks of the Mississippi, I frequently passed the graves of the boatmen. The rudely sculptured monuments of their lowly dwelling, prove that there is still charity for the dead; and that a fellow-feeling seldom leaves, under any circumstance, the human breast.[149]

---

[149] In the day of the flatboat, a craft which went down stream and never returned, it was customary for the boatmen to return by land. This journey was often undertaken at unhealthy seasons of the year, and the death of boatmen and raftsmen was common. As the travellers usually carried large sums of

Having progressed some way in the Missouri Territory, I again crossed the river, and entered the Indian Village at one of the Chickasaw Bluffs. The settlement here is considerable; and the Chickasaws, being friendly to the United States, evince in their appearance, the beneficial consequences of a peaceful policy. White men of little or no reputation frequently intermarry with this tribe; and the Indians are much pleased with the connexion. On this Bluff is situated Fort Pickering.[180]

The evenings in this part of the country are delightful; especially in the woods, far from the haunts of men. The aspect of the heavens is here [204] peculiarly serene; and the human mind is disposed to dwell upon the power, wisdom, and goodness of God; the station of man in the scale of being; his probationary state, with all its relations and events; and his hopes of happiness beyond the grave.

The traveller, in proceeding from a cold to a warm climate, is forcibly impressed by a sense of the revolutions of the seasons; especially if he commences his tour in the midst of winter. Those who are acquainted with astronomy, who know what are the effects of the annual motion of the earth; and particularly the beneficial consequences of its declination, will, if they have any sense of moral power and goodness, unite with Milton in his sublime fiction: —

> "Some say He bid his angels turn askanse
> The poles of earth, twice ten degrees and more,
> From the sun's axle; they, with labour,
> Push'd oblique the central globe."

The remembrance of those aspects in nature, which are peculiar to the various seasons of the year, are delightfully

---

money, their routes were beset by robbers who could, undoubtedly, have explained many a grave on these lonely roads. — Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, ix, pp. 125, 126.— Ed.

[180] For Fort Pickering, see Cuming's *Tour*, note 192.— Ed.

painful. There is a religious influence in them;— they are connected with the recollection of a thousand events which mark the stages of man's pilgrimage through life.— The winds of spring; the autumnal evening; the equinoctial gale; the frozen ground; the January thaw; all eloquently speak of childhood, the vicissitudes of time, and of a better world.

In addition to the difficulties, attending the navigation of the Mississippi, already mentioned, there are here many bends, points, and sand bars, which cause the current to set in a great variety of directions, and render necessary, not only constant watchfulness, but much practical knowledge.

[205] Whilst in the Missouri Territory, and not far from the bank of the river, a bald eagle, perched upon a tall and blasted oak, attracted my attention. It was in the forenoon, and he viewed the sun with an unblinking eye. Whilst I was admiring the strength of his form, and the majesty of his aspect, a wild turkey flew from a neighbouring tree, and alighted on the ground. The eagle immediately pounced upon his prey; but ere he could effect his object the turkey was shot. I might too, have killed the eagle, but admiration and awe prevented me. I felt that he was the emblem, and the inspiration of my country; and, at that moment, I would not, for ten thousand worlds like ours, have cut a feather of his wing.

There is something wonderfully impressive in the nature of this bird; and it is not surprising that the Romans were devoted to it. When quite a lad, I mortally wounded an eagle, supposing it to be a hawk. It was a half hour before it died, and during this time my heart was filled with mingled emotions of regret and awe. I felt as though I were witnessing the last moments of some mountain hero, who had fallen upon the hills of his fame. This noble bird fixed his eyes upon me, and without a single blink supported the pangs of death with all the grandeur of fortitude. I could not endure his aspect,— I shrunk into my own insignificance, and have ever since been sensible of my inferiority.

After remaining a day or two on this side of the river, I crossed it and entered the State of Mississippi. This state is bounded by this river west; north by Tennessee; east by Georgia; and south by West-Florida. The principal rivers in this state are the Yazoo, Pearl, Big Black, Tombecbee, and Alabama. The grand chain of mountains, called the Alleghany, terminates in this state. On the [206] Tombecbee is situated Fort Stoddard.[151] The city of Natches is the only considerable settlement in this state. The aspect of the country is level, and generally very fertile; but some parts of it are sandy and unproductive. Its principal products are tobacco, cotton, indigo, and rice. Live oak of the best quality abounds here. In this state are tribes of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. These tribes are acquainted with agriculture, and with some manufactures. The Natches Indians, formerly a powerful, and, in many respects, a civilized people, were exterminated by the French in 1730.[152] The Creek Indians consist of about twenty tribes, who united for the purpose of exterminating the

---

[151] Fort Stoddard was built in 1799 by Captain Shaumburg, U. S. A., on the Mobile River, at the Spanish boundary line provided in the treaty of 1795, and was named in honor of the acting secretary of war. It was a port of entry until Mobile became part of the United States.— Ed.

[152] For the early history of the city of Natchez, see F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, vol. iii of our series, note 53.

The Natchez Indians, of Maskoki stock, were first encountered by the French near the present city of their name. In 1729 they fell upon the French garrison and massacred them all. The following year the French army took a terrible revenge, a remnant only of the tribe escaping. For full account, see Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (rev. ed., New Orleans, 1903), i, pp. 396-440.— Ed.

Choctaws. The names of these tribes are derived from those of several rivers in the states of Georgia and Mississippi, and the whole are called Creeks, from the great number of streams which pass through these parts of the country. They are sagacious, bold, and jealous of their rights. General Jackson has made great havoc among them.

On the twenty-sixth of May I passed through a little settlement called Point Sheco. Vegetation here was, at this time, very backward. The inhabitants are principally French. The small-pox prevailed among them, and they appeared sallow and emaciated. The land here is very rich; but indolence characterizes the place. The people, however, possess many herds of fine cattle, and much poultry. The musquetoes here are literally intolerable. My journal says, "they are three times as large as Yankee musquetoes; my face, neck, hands, and feet are covered with their inflictions, and for several nights I have not slept a moment." The people in this part of the country always sleep under close curtains, called musquetoe bars.

The Mississippi, a little below this place, is very [207] wide and expansive. I have spoken of its islands. There are about one hundred and thirty between the mouth of the Ohio and New-Orleans. These islands are sometimes formed by the lodgment of floating trees upon a bank in the bed of the river, and by after accumulations of the various substances which freshets bring from the country above. The river here deposits a sufficient quantity of floating soil to produce vegetation, and the island is soon covered with a thick growth of bushes and trees. The current of the Mississippi moves from three to five miles an hour, according to the rise and fall of its water. I have also spoken of the boats on this river. They are as various, and their number as great, as on the Ohio. The usual passage of barks, and barges, from New-Orleans to the mouth of the Cumberland, on the Ohio, is ninety days; sometimes, however, they are six months in getting up thus far, and sometimes lose all their hands on the way, by sickness. These boats generally carry from sixty to seventy men each, whose compensation is from fifty to eighty dollars a trip. Many old sailors prefer this inland navigation to that of the ocean. Here they spend their second childhood; and venture only on those little seas which met the earliest efforts of their boisterous career. The vessels of which I have been speaking, are from eighty to one hundred tons burthen. The freight from New-Orleans to the Cumberland is about five dollars a hundred weight. Down the river the price is fifty per cent less.

The cotton-wood tree abounds near the Mississippi, and is said to be the New-England poplar; I think, however, that this is not the case.[188] Here too are bulrushes; such, probably, as concealed the child Moses on the Nile. There is a very interesting connexion between the scenes and productions of [208] nature, and the simple stories of inspiration. In view of it the enlightened agriculturalist is charmed. The situation of our first parents, the patriarchal days, and the history of the Judean Shepherds, furnish him, whilst he is tilling his ground and tending his flocks, with sources of reflection, which at once delight his mind, improve his heart, and prepare him for that state of innocence and love, which awaits the good beyond the scenes of time.

The animal and vegetable worlds furnish an inexhaustible source of illustration and imagery; and in the scriptures, they are employed with all the simplicity of truth, and the sublimity of inspiration.

---

[188] The cottonwood is a member of the poplar family, the scientific name being *Populus monilifera*.— ED.

The sight of the bulrushes, connected with several other circumstances, forcibly reminded me of the River Nile, and the story of that forsaken babe, who, by the might of Heaven, conducted Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land, in type of that Great Leader, who is now calling man from the thraldom of iniquity to the liberty of the heavenly Canaan. On the Mississippi there are arks, and alligators, which resemble the crocodile; and the general appearance of this river is similar to that of the Nile.

Not far from the Iron Banks, before mentioned, are the Chalk Banks; and a little below the latter is the Bayau de She.

The St. Francis is the principal river in the Missouri Territory, excepting the river of this name; and it enters the Mississippi just below Tennessee. It is navigable about three hundred miles, and at its mouth is two hundred yards wide. White River runs in the same direction, and enters the Mississippi about eighty miles below. Its width is about one hundred and fifty yards.

Whilst in the state of Mississippi, I crossed a high, broken, and fertile ground, constituting about two hundred acres.

[209] After passing over hundreds of miles of country perfectly level, such an appearance was highly gratifying. On this rise of ground were a few scattering trees, the kinds of some of which I had never before seen. Here grew the China tree, of a beautiful appearance, and bearing fruit of an inviting aspect, but of an unpleasant taste.[184] I stopped a moment to receive instruction — *moral* beauty only can be depended upon.

---

[184] The China tree (*Melia azedarach*) is a native of India, and much cultivated in the Southern states for its shade.— Ed.

This situation reminded me of St. Pierre's interesting, and affecting story of Paul and Virginia. On one of the broken ridges of this rise of ground stood a raven. He looked as though he had seen a hundred winters, and his appearance inclined me to believe Hesiod's extravagant account of the longevity of this bird. There are many interesting ideas in relation to this species of bird: In this country they build on high trees; and in Europe in old towers. The Romans hold them in high estimation; and God employed them to carry food to the Prophet Elijah.

After leaving this interesting situation, I passed a place called Point Pleasant, where there are a few small dwelling-houses.[186] The country here is perfectly level, and the river wide and beautiful. Here I met with many live oaks, so valuable for ship timber; but I think that on no part of the Mississippi do they so abound as in the State of Georgia. This species of tree grows tall and straight, and has but a very few branches; these, however, are generally large, and well calculated for knees in building.

Between this situation and the city of Natches is a place in the river called the Grand Gulph. Here nature presents an aspect, which blends the sublime and beautiful. She has here, with a majestic air, given to the river an expansive bend; and renders its waters wide, deep, and gentle. On one side of it she presents [210] an interminable lawn, and on the other a broken hill, thickly covered with a variety of trees. How great are the privileges of man! How small his merit, and yet, how noble his nature!

The expansive calmness of this scene, viewed from the hill, suggests to the human heart great and deep things, too sublime for human utterance.— Things which point to the future development of mind, to the high destinies of virtue, and to the nameless peace of heaven. When on this hill it was evening; and the moon, mild in majesty, moved in an unclouded course. She seemed to say, in the language of Young, "How great,— if good, is man!" Under such circumstances the human mind sensibly feels, that every thing, by the sacred and benevolent constitution of nature, belongs to the virtuous man. He here dwells upon St. Paul's declaration, "All is yours!" and fears not "life, or death, or principalities, or powers." The good man has, indeed, every thing to excite his hopes; and if his mind is enlightened by science, and polished by taste, he has every thing to excite his admiration.— Is he acquainted with architecture?— "The heavens declare the glory of the Creator, and the firmament showeth his handy work." Is he fond of music?— let him listen to that of the spheres. Does eloquence charm him?— he hears the voice of God in his own heart, persuading him to be good.

---

[186] Point Pleasant, ten miles below New Madrid, must not be confounded with the point of that name at the mouth of Great Kanawha River.— Ed.

The River Arkansas enters the Mississippi from the west, about one hundred miles below the St. Francis. This river is certainly navigable about five hundred miles, and is, probably, from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles in length. The country on this river will hereafter be known for its productions and trade.[186]

A little below this river is the Cypress Bend. Here grow considerable forests of this interesting [211] tree. They are here covered with moss, and suggest the ideas of old age and death. The growth of the moss, however, is not confined to this species of tree; and it probably is created by some peculiar quality in the atmosphere of the river. This moss sometimes grows to the length of fifteen feet, but generally is much shorter. It proceeds from the bark of the tree, and as to its formation and manner of growth, resembles rock-weed on the seashore. Its colour is that of the dove. Being fibrous, it is laid in water, then dried, threshed, and used as a substitute for horse hair in the stuffing of mattresses, &c. It is, when well prepared, nearly as valuable as hair, and is exported in considerable quantities. The sources of this article on the Mississippi are inexhaustible, whole forests are here covered with it.

---

[186] For an exploration of Arkansas River, see Nuttall's *Journal*, vol. xiii of our series.— Ed.

In this part of the country too, grows the celebrated plant called misletoe. It is found on the trunk and branches of trees, and may be propagated by rubbing its berries against the bark. This is frequently done by the thrush, in wiping its bill after feeding upon them. Ancient superstition venerated this plant; and it was hung upon the neck to prevent the effect of witchcraft. In modern times it is considered good for epilepsy and other diseases.

In several places near the Mississippi there are situations where hurricanes have prevailed; and it is interesting to see the contrast between their desolated path, and the smiling aspect of the contiguous country. In some places here hundreds of lofty trees have been dashed by the hand of violence; and the spectator inspired by the view, finds a source of regret in not having actually witnessed the grandeur of ruin's march.

Great minds only imitate the grand in nature. She never proclaims her works, but leaves them to [212] speak for themselves. Sampson possessed a portion of her spirit. Upon his journey to Timnath, he slew a lion; but passing on, told neither father nor mother of it.

After having experienced, for several weeks, much labour and many privations, I arrived at the city of Natches, which is situated on the eastern bank of the

Mississippi. In approaching the city, from the banks of the river, nothing is seen but a village of ragged buildings under the hill, a little back of which the city itself is located. This hill is very high, and steep, and its soil is sandy. Along the banks of the river, under the hill, the boats, both in going up and down, frequently stop, either for a market, or information. The number of buildings here is about one hundred, and they are principally occupied for shops and boarding-houses for the boatmen. It is perhaps one of the most wretched places in the world.

The ascent to the city is very steep; and on each side of the road are considerable precipices. The city itself is singular in its aspect; being irregular, and having large unoccupied grounds in different parts of it. After rising the hill, one sees, in front, a wide street leading into the country; on the left a spacious grove of trees, back of which is a precipice of two hundred feet; and on the right of the grove are the principal streets and buildings. Many of the houses and stores are large; but there are not many buildings here which can be termed elegant. The courthouse is inconsiderable, and the theatre is a very ordinary building. In the evening the city is remarkably silent.—Scarcely a person is to be seen in its streets after dark. This place is conspicuous for its hospitality.

Whilst in this place I was on board a boat, with the captain of which I had become acquainted at the [213] mouth of the Cumberland. To this gentleman, a foppish French barber introduced himself; and played with his crew a pretty deep game. The barber was profoundly polite, and extremely disinterested. He begged the captain to sit down and have his hair cut, saying, that it was "all for de pleasure," and that he "no value de money," &c. So much apparent good will, although troublesome, seemed to deserve condescension; and the captain yielded to the importunity. After the work was accomplished, payment was tendered, and refused; the barber still insisting, with a thousand flourishes, that it was "all for de pleasure." The barber then turned his attention to the boatmen, who all admired his liberality, saying, "come sare, me cut your hair bery vel." The boatmen, one after another, sat down; the Frenchman all the time clipping away as for his life, grinning like a monkey, and declaring, with many airs, "me barber de Buonaparte!" After the barber had effected his object, and had rolled up his napkin, he, with much gravity, and an altered tone, addressed the boatmen, saying, "yentlemen, you be please to pay me." The poor fellows were ashamed to acknowledge their mistake, and inquired how much it was a piece. The Frenchman replied, with a concerned animation, "Oh sare! only one quarter dollar." They produced their money, and the barber, well pleased with his success, strutted off.

In the city of Natches slaves are very numerous. There is no branch of trade, in this part of the country, more brisk and profitable than that of buying and selling negroes. They are a subject of continual speculation, and are daily brought, together with other live stock, from Kentucky and other places to the Natches and New-Orleans market. How deplorable is the condition of our country! — [214] So many bullocks, so many swine, and so many human beings in our market! The latter are rated in our prices current.— Enviable distinction!

Notwithstanding the difficulties so frequently suggested, relative to the abolition of slavery within the United States, the evil can easily be removed. Let the people instruct their representatives in Congress to purchase the freedom of every slave in the Union; and to hold the slaves for the discharge of the debt thus incurred: each individual of them to receive an unconditional manumission as soon as they shall, by their labour, offset the amount paid for them.

The law under which the purchase should be made, ought to declare the slaves to be free, and as possessing all the rights and privileges of the white people of the United States; with the declaration, however, that these slaves are individually indebted to the government, according to the price paid for each. The government would then be the guardian of the blacks, for a particular purpose. The latter would be free; they would have no master, and they might, under proper regulations, sue for any invasion of their rights. The government should, in the supposed act, provide for the appointment of agents in all the slave-holding states; which agents should contract for the purchase of the slaves, and for the letting of their services for a length of time sufficient to cancel the debt thus incurred.

I have no doubt that slave holders would, generally, sell their slaves to the United States, for this purpose, upon liberal terms. Indeed, I know it to be a fact, that some of the planters would deduct, in relation to this subject, from 25 to 50 per cent. from the real value of the slave. Many of the planters too, would also hire the slaves of the government [215] according to the proposed plan. Some of the planters prefer hiring to purchasing negroes. This preference is grounded upon many considerations.

As soon as the slaves, upon the supposed plan, should discharge their obligations to the United States, they would be as independent as any of her citizens, and would let their services upon their own contracts, and according to their own calculations.

Some may object to having so many free blacks in the

United States; but I think that no danger need be apprehended from them. I am not particularly partial to blacks; but I have a good opinion of their intelligence and disposition. Much of their bad conduct arises from their being slaves. Were they free, they would be more industrious, more honest, and would have no *extraordinary* grounds for irritation and crime. Besides, being free, they would be much less numerous in one place. They would spread themselves over the country. Some would go to the west and east, and become farmers and day labourers; some would plough the ocean, and some would emigrate to Europe, and perhaps to Africa. Surely, within a territory so vast as ours, we need not fear a population so limited, even if it were a population hostile to the country and to human nature. But the fact is otherwise. They would form a highly valuable population. Under proper systems of instruction, they would become as virtuous as any class of white people in the United States. The free blacks in the West Indies, are industrious and peaceable. It is the case too, with those in this country; and, as to the abstract question, it may be added, that the freed vassals of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden are equally inoffensive.

This subject suggests many ideas in opposition to popular objections: but my limits will not permit a particular investigation of them.

[216] Under the system proposed, the United States need not incur any expense, or make any pecuniary advances. In most cases, those who should sell their slaves would hire them of the government, and of course no money need be advanced. The expense of transacting the business, and also the interest upon any advance of cash, might be added to the amount of the purchase. The price of the slaves in the United States would not, probably, average more than 300 dollars each.

I know it to be the case, that the slave holders, generally, deprecate the practice of buying and selling slaves, and they would, no doubt, aid the government in its efforts to enfranchise them.

Should the government act upon the supposed plan, she would greatly increase her reputation and security; relieve an unfortunate and oppressed portion of the human race, and remove forever this dark stain upon her glory. Should she make this uncostly effort, Freedom would call us her own peculiar people, and in some future, trying day, might remember and defend us.

Why do we boast of liberty, when, every day, we violate its most sacred principles? As it is in our power to give freedom to the slaves within our jurisdiction, we do, by delaying to take this step, sanction and support their oppression. Should a slave endeavour to obtain his freedom, which, no doubt, he has a right to do, the law of the land,— the whole power of the Union, would enforce his obedience, and again rivet his chains. Oh, cruel nation! Oh, detestable system! The slave holder cannot, consistently with the law of the land, take the life of his slave; but he may scourge him, overwhelm his heart with grief, and by a lingering torture bring him to a premature grave. This is frequently the case. Indeed, slaves are often killed [217] at once, and that with impunity. How is the act to be known, when it is committed on a plantation?

The oppressor is hateful to the eye of Heaven: and Heaven's justice may be preparing for us pestilence, famine, and subjugation. The wisdom of the world, the policy of states, the pride of birth, the love of wealth, the calculations of avarice, the luxuries of indolence, and the thoughtlessness of inhumanity, may all prate about the inexpediency of giving freedom to the slave; but there is an

Almighty arm, and the cause of the oppressed will not always be unavenged.

Whilst in Natches I met with a company of Indians, of the Choctaw tribe. Most of them were intoxicated, and all highly painted. A few days before my visit to this place, an Indian had, in a moment of passion, murdered one of the company. The law of the tribe declared the act worthy of death; and the criminal was immediately called upon to meet his fate. With a fearless and composed aspect, he marched off, faced his executioners, and opened his arms to receive their fire.— In a moment he was a dead man. It is a singular fact, that Indians when condemned to die for the violation of the laws of their tribe, never attempt to escape.— The rules of education are more operative than those of legislatures.

Before I left Natches, I witnessed an interesting race between two Indians. Their speed was very great.

Having, in the course of my tour, seen hundreds of Indians, both of the northern and southern tribes, I was able to form an opinion as to their relative aspect. The northern Indians are more athletic than the southern. They are also more grave, and as to manner resemble the Germans. The southern [218] Indians are slender, volatile, cunning, vindictive, and in their manners resemble the Italians.

In Natches there are a great many Turkey Buzzards, and their colour and tameness remind one of Pliny's crows. The Buzzard is nearly as large as a small turkey. By day these birds fly about the city, occasionally lighting upon the houses, and in the yards, like pigeons. Towards night they all retire to the highest part of the precipice fronting the river, and there remain until the morning. Seeing them thus assembled, suggests the idea of Milton's conclave in Pandemonium.

These birds are very useful in warm climates, as they devour animals which die and remain upon the surface of the ground. In the southern states they are numerous, and are protected by law.

During the last summer, business in Natches was dull. But the constant arrival of boats from up and down the river, gave an active appearance to the place. The profits attending the business of steam boats upon the western rivers are almost beyond belief; but the competition arising from this circumstance is daily lessening them. The steam boats move with so much velocity, even up the river, that the expenses of a trip are not great, whilst the freight of goods, and the price of passage are very high.

I think there can be no doubt, that foreign goods will for the future, be transported from New-Orleans to the settlements above, in steam boats, instead of proceeding down the rivers from the east and south. Although the western rivers present a dangerous navigation to steam boats, yet they may be very profitably employed, even after paying a reasonable premium for insurance, and reducing the price of freight thirty per cent.

[219] After remaining at Natches two or three days, I progressed towards New-Orleans. About sixty miles below the former are Loftus' Heights, and just below these, stands Fort Adams.[117] Not far from the fort, the country becomes in some measure settled; and for about one hundred miles above New-Orleans, both banks of the river are under a high state of cultivation. The country continues thus cultivated for twenty miles below the city. The plantations within these limits are superb beyond description. Some of them resemble villages. The dwelling houses of the planters are not inferior to any in

---

[117] For a brief description of Loftus Heights and Fort Adams, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 211.— Ed.

the United States, either with respect to size, architecture, or the manner in which they are furnished. The gardens, and yards contiguous to them, are formed and decorated with much taste. The cotton, sugar, and ware houses are very large, and the buildings for the slaves are well finished. The latter buildings are, in some cases, forty or fifty in number, and each of them will accommodate ten or twelve persons. The plantations are very extensive, and on some of them there are hundreds of negroes. The planters here derive immense profits from the cultivation of their estates. The yearly income from them is from 20,000 to 30,000 dollars. Their produce is sent down to the New-Orleans market, at which place prompt payment in specie is immediately realized. At Natches and New-Orleans, gold and silver are as plenty in the market as any other article. Some of the noted plantations above mentioned are those of Balay, Arnold, Baronge, and Forteus.

The plantations on the Mississippi produce vast quantities of sugar and cotton. The latter article grows in pods, upon a stalk; and the appearance of the latter is not much unlike that of the bean. These pods, when ripe, open; and the cotton is then [220] gathered from the stalk, and separated from the seeds by a machine which will clean 1000 pounds in a day. An acre of land will yield about 800 pounds.

Cotton is sewed in drills about eight feet apart. The seed is thrown in thick; and after they spring, the stalks are thinned so as to make them eighteen inches apart. They are then weeded, and the earth taken from the upper roots, so as to leave them bare. A few weeks after this process, the earth is hoed up to the stalk, and the roots covered. Then there is a third hoeing like the second. If the ground is well prepared, and the growth favourable, the rows of cotton, when fully grown, will nearly meet each other.

The sugar cane is a jointed stalk, not unlike that of corn; and it grows from three to seven feet in length, and from one half inch to an inch in diameter. It is pithy, like the corn stalk, and affords a copious supply of juice. No sweet is less cloying, and no vegetable substance so nutritious as the sugar cane.

Sugar is cultivated by cuttings, set two inches from each other, in drills eight feet apart. Each cutting possesses one joint; and one setting answers for two years. In getting in the harvest the first year, the stalks are cut within about eight inches of the ground. In the production of sugar, the stalks are passed end ways through smooth brass nuts, and the juice thus extracted is boiled down to a thick syrup. It is then put into other vessels, and as it becomes cool, it forms into small grains, and thus becomes sugar. Molasses is produced from the drainings of the sugar; and after this process there is another by distillation; and here rum is obtained. The sugar and molasses of New-Orleans are celebrated for their excellence.

[221] Most of the planters on the lower parts of the Mississippi are French; and there are in New-Orleans, and on other parts of the river many French people, who have, since the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, emigrated thither from France. Many of them are very interesting characters.

Before reaching Natches, I had travelled considerably in the state of Louisiana, on the west side of the river; but there is nothing here to distinguish it from the lower part of the Missouri Territory.

The old line of demarcation, between the United States and Florida, is about sixty miles below Natches. At

Point Coupé on the right side of the river, there are many elegant dwelling-houses, and they are superbly furnished.[158] At the front and back of the houses, there are piazzas, and the doors and windows extend to the floor. In summer the former are removed, and their place supplied with duck, which excludes the sun, and, by its motion, creates air. In the front yards are many ornamental trees, and the yards back of the houses are filled with a great variety of domestic fowls. Here one almost supposes himself in the West-Indies.

When I arrived at this village, the weather and prospects were delightful. A tree in blossom there presented colours, the powers of which seen at a distance, are indescribable. These colours wore an astonishing combination of crimson and pink; and viewed through the medium of the sun's reflection, appeared celestial. How great and various are the powers of the human eye, when aided by fancy! The blossoms of Point Coupe spake of the bright colours of heaven, and the livery of angels.

Opposite this settlement is Bayou Sara; and here there are a few buildings.

Not far from these situations there is another settlement; but it is not so large as Point Coupe. [222] When I passed through it the weather was mild, and the sun about setting. Large herds of cattle were feeding luxuriantly upon the banks of the river; the negroes had finished their work, and some of them were wrestling on the green, some fishing near the shore, some swimming in the stream, and some running their horses. The scene was interesting.

Above Point Coupe, and near a little village, called Tunica, is Red River. This river enters the Mississippi from the west, and is navigable to a great distance. About one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth, is Nachitoches. Black river enters the Red river about fifty miles from the junction of the latter with the Mississippi. Red river is becoming of considerable note, and will, in time, furnish much produce for the New-Orleans market. A little below this river, is the Bayou Chafalia.

---

[158] On Point Coupée, see Cuming's *Tour*, note 220.— Ed.

On the east of the Mississippi, and not far below the old line of demarcation, is Baton Rouge. About the same distance above this line is Clarkeville. Baton Rouge is a very considerable place. The plantations near this situation are superb indeed. The buildings upon them evince great wealth, and refinement in modes of living. Ships of 500 tons sometimes ascend the river to the vicinity of Baton Rouge, and receive from the plantations, cargoes of sugar and cotton.[189] The enclosed fields of the planters are very spacious, and highly cultivated. The negroes upon these plantations are numerous; and vast herds of cattle feed upon the banks of the river. The cattle are large and beautiful. The horses are fleet, and well calculated for labour; but they are small, and far from being handsome.

The river below Baton Rouge is very spacious. Here, towards evening, the piazzas and porticos of the dwelling-houses are filled with ladies. Their [223] appearance, together with the expansive and serene aspect of the river, the mild azure of the heavens, the silver moon, rising in the majesty of meekness, and the almost celestial music; which proceeds from the gently gliding boats, remind one of primeval innocence, and point the heart to that Being, in whose smile is everlasting life.

In this part of the country there are many Bayous, which I have not mentioned. The principal of them are Manchac, Plaquemine, and De la Fourche. There are here also many churches, some of which are Contrelle,

---

[189] For an account of Baton Rouge, consult Cuming's *Tour*, note 215.— Ed.

Bona Cara, and Red Church. In the morning and evening, cavalcades of gentlemen and ladies, may frequently be seen going thither, to attend marriage and other ceremonies.

About seventy miles below Baton Rouge, the country is wonderfully fine. No description of mine can do justice to the appearance of its principal establishments. There are here the most superb dwelling houses. They are second to none in size, architecture, or decorations. The gardens attached to them are spacious, and elegantly ornamented with orange and fig trees. At a little distance from them are vast buildings, occupied for sugar mills and cotton presses, and for the storage of the immense productions of the plantations. Near these, are from fifty to one hundred neat buildings, for the negroes, beyond them are spacious and elegant oblong fields, constituting one hundred acres, and under the highest state of cultivation.

In many places, along the banks of the river are large orange groves, and here almost all kinds of fruits are raised for the New-Orleans market. My journal says, this is, indeed, a fascinating country! Here are all the splendours of wealth, and the blandishments [224] of beauty: but to the rocky land of my birth, my heart will ever be supremely attached.

Upon the banks of the Mississippi, there is a luxuriant growth of white clover, which feeds thousands of cattle. These cattle drink from the river. Some of the planters yearly mark thousands of calves, and send them into the prairies to feed. Here their maintenance costs nothing.

The cattle of this part of the country are not often fat. This circumstance is, probably, owing to many causes; some of which are, their being much troubled by flies, not being salted, and the food which they eat being of rapid growth, and of course unsubstantial. The latter does not possess the consistency of the New-England grass. The flies and musquetos on the Mississippi are so numerous and voracious, that nothing is more common here than to see horses tied in the fields to feed, and a small fire by them for the purpose of keeping at a distance these troublesome assailants.

The cattle in this part of the country are not worth, in the market, more than one fourth of the price of New-England cattle. The cows seldom calve more than once in two years, and they give very little milk. The milk of a Yankee cow will make more butter than that of ten of them.

In progressing towards the tropics, appearances peculiar to the various degrees of climate were continually presenting themselves. Many kinds of trees, flowers, and grasses, and many species of birds and quadrupeds, entirely new to me, made their appearance. The rains, winds, thunder and lightning too, of the country, towards the equator, are peculiar. The latter are here more sudden, loud, and vivid than those of the north. The rains near the Mississippi resemble, in a measure, those of the West-Indies. Here it frequently rains violently at a little [225] distance, whilst where one stands there is a clear sun-shine. These showers sound quite loud, and present an interesting appearance.

I have repeatedly spoken of the slaves in the south and west. Some of them are treated kindly; but some suffer all the evils incident to this wretched condition. All the pride, all the ill-nature, all the petulance of man are frequently wreaked upon these friendless beings. I speak from experience. For a venial fault, I have witnessed cruel inflictions. Whilst passing a plantation on the lower part of the Mississippi, my ears were assailed by sounds novel and distressing. The shriek of anguish, and the sound of the hateful lash quickly brought me to the theatre of suffering. There I witnessed a madning sight. A poor negro, fastened to the ground, in vain implored for mercy; whilst an iron-hearted overseer, enraged by his own cruelty, was inflicting unlimited vengeance. I believe my presence unbound the victim.— Shame frequently achieves what conscience cannot accomplish. I could mention cruelties inflicted upon slaves, which would excite the tears of humanity, the blush of virtue, and the indignation of freedom. On the Mississippi there are large oak frames for whipping slaves,— without law, and without any rule, excepting that of self-will and uncontrolled power.

Man, when uncontrolled, is a tyrant; and no human being should, for a moment, be without the protection of natural, or municipal law.

There are prejudices against the race of blacks, and I pronounce them vulgar! Some even pretend that negroes are not human beings; but history and daily observation prove the contrary. Oh! how detestable are the prejudices of avarice and inhumanity. Our vanity teaches us to think better of our own colour than of theirs. They entertain the [226] same opinion of white, which we do of black. On the coast of Africa the Evil Spirit, which we call Devil, is there imagined under the hideous semblance of a white man.

Many too, speak against the disposition of Negroes. They no doubt possess strong passions; but their passions may all be enlisted on the side of virtue. The quickness and strength of their feelings, connected with their intelligence, prove their greatness. It is evident that negroes are capable of being rendered great philosophers, divines, physicians, legislators and warriors. They are likewise capable of being, in their principles and conduct, real gentlemen; and as to fidelity and affection, they are second to no people on the face of the earth. Some will sneer at these ideas; but I rejoice in defending this despised and oppressed race of men; and, would to heaven that my power was equal to my regard for them! In the course of the last war there was as much courage and patriotism evinced by a negro, as by any individual in the nation. During a naval engagement he was dreadfully mangled by a cannon ball; and just as his soul was departing, he exclaimed, "*no haul a colour down!*"

The slaves are accused of committing crimes; but are not white men sometimes criminal? and, I would ask, are they not as frequently so? Besides, what can be expected of slaves? Why do we not give them their liberty, and admit them to the privileges of citizenship? We are men of like passions; yet does God grind down and oppress us?—No, but has enabled us to preserve our liberty, and sends his Holy Spirit to regenerate and redeem us. Oh! what a requital of his goodness do we display in the thraldom of our brethren. Among slaves, nature, in her own defence sometimes lifts the arm of death. Can she bear every thing? Oppressed, and scourged, and [227] without refuge, self protection is her only law; and God, under such circumstances, justifies homicide. The brethren of Moses were enslaved; and seeing an Egyptian smite a Hebrew, he slew him. Has a slave a right to his liberty? Certainly. Then no one has a right to deprive him of it; and in attempting to do so, the assailant must abide by the consequences. Will the laws of this country condemn the slave to die in this case? If so my country sanctions murder as well as robbery. What should we think of a christian system which should warrant slavery, or even be silent respecting it? Stand forth ye ministers of our holy religion, ye vicegerents of a righteous God, and speak the truth in behalf of the slave. Why should our pulpits be silent upon this great subject? Why do not our christian preachers constantly pray as David did, "break thou the arm of the oppressor." Why do they not inquire with the voice of authority, and in the Almighty's name, "what mean ye, that ye beat my people to pieces, saith the Lord God of Hosts."

I am disposed to offer a few ideas upon the origin of the race of blacks. Their colour is generally supposed to arise from climate; but the idea is not well supported. Some too, imagine that their colour is a peculiar mark which the Creator put upon them for some special purpose; but these suggestions are chimerical. The speculations upon this topic have ever been very numerous: for my own part, however, I think there is no difficulty involved in the subject. Where an effect cannot be satisfactorily accounted for but upon one principle; and this principle is conclusive in point of analogy, we need not look any further.

Now, certain it is that Nature, in all her works, evinces a great fondness for variety, both in relation to colour and form. Man, *as to his physical nature,* [228] is an animal; and black and white in men, are as easily accounted for as black and white among beasts and birds, or any other part of animated nature. There is no species of animal, among which a greater variety of form and of simple colours exist, than among men. Here we see every shade of complexion, from jet black to the clearest white; here too, we find every variety of feature. Why should there not be the same variety among men as among mere animals? We see this variety in every particular, and yet as to black we doubt the universality of the principle. Why do we not inquire as to the cause of the colour of the black horse? Why do we not ask, whether his remote ancestors were not born in the Torrid Zone? Besides, the variety of which I speak exists in the vegetable world; and in order to remove the principle upon which the argument is predicated, the most conspicuous attribute of nature must be disproved.

Some learned writers have supposed the negro race to be the descendants of Cain, and that their colour is the mark which the Deity set upon their great progenitor, on account of the murder of his brother Abel. Others imagine that the negroes have proceeded from the loins of Ham; and that he was rendered black by the hard cursing of his father Noah. As to Noah's curse producing this effect, if such a notion deserves any thing but ridicule, it may be observed, that the descendants of Ham occupied Africa; and that here the inhabitants are not all black. In that part of Asia too, where it is supposed the descendants of Seth, a favourite son, reside, the people are full as black as any of the negroes of Africa.

The heat of the climate cannot be the cause of blackness in negroes; for a great part of the continent of America lies within the Torrid Zone, and [229] yet there were no black people here until Europeans transported them thither from Africa.

Climate, education, modes of living, customs and manners, do, no doubt, affect the form, aspect, and features of individuals; but all these causes are not sufficient to produce a total change in complexion or any other particular.

About the middle of June I arrived at New-Orleans. The general aspect of the city, viewed at a little distance from it, is much in its favour. It appears large, ancient, and populous. I entered the city at noon day. Its streets were crowded with people of every description. Perhaps no place in the world, excepting Vienna, contains a greater variety of the human race than New-Orleans. Besides foreigners of all nations, there are here a various population peculiarly its own. These are of every shade of complexion. Here may be seen in the same crowd Creoles, Quadroons, mulattoes, Samboes, Mustizos, Indians, and Negroes; and there are other commixtures which are not yet classified. As to negroes, I may add that whilst in this place I saw one who was perfectly white. This peculiarity, however, is rarely witnessed in this country.

Dissipation in New-Orleans is unlimited. Here men may be vicious without incurring the ill opinion of those around them:— for all go one way. Here broad indeed is the road to ruin; and an insulated spectator, sees the multitude passing down the stream of pleasure to the gulf of remorse. Surrounded by the facinations of wealth, the blandishments of beauty, and the bewitching influences of music, they do not realize that they are losing the dignity of their nature, and preparing for themselves the most bitter self-reproach:— they do not realize that an eternity cannot undo an ignoble deed.

> "Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows;
> While proudly riding o'er the azure realm,
> In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,—
> Youth on the prow, and Pleasure at the helm!
> Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
> Which, hush'd in grim repose, expects his ev'ning prey."

The gambling houses in this city are almost innumerable, and at any hour, either by night or day, the bustle of these demoralizing establishments may be heard. Here too, the Sabbath is devoted to recreation. On this day the negroes assemble, and amuse themselves and spectators by dancing. Religion, in behalf of the slave, has thus benevolently wrested one day in seven from hard-hearted avarice.

I am happy in being able to say, that New-Orleans is much less corrupt, in many particulars, than it used to be. The American population there is rapidly increasing; and New-England customs, manners and habits, are there gaining ground. This population will, no doubt, be contaminated; but it is sincerely hoped that there will be a balance in favour of morality. The police of this place is still in the hands of the French.

The city of New-Orleans is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, about eighty-five miles from the Gulf of Mexico. The city stands immediately upon the bank, and upon a curve or bend in the river. The land here, like the whole country below Natches, and indeed generally below the mouth of the Ohio, is low and level. The water is kept from flowing into the city by a Levee or embankment, which was raised by the Spanish government. The Levee extends from Fort Plaquemine, about forty miles below the city, to one hundred and twenty miles above it. This embankment is about four feet high and fifteen feet wide. A great deal [231] has been said respecting this road; but it is not deserving of much notice. The undertaking was not great, and its execution displays no ingenuity or neatness. All the market-people bring their produce upon the Levee; and here the inhabitants of the place take their evening walk.

The city extends, on the river, about a mile and a quarter; and its breadth is about a half mile. The streets cross each other at right angles, and the side walks of some of them are paved with flat stones or bricks. Most of the streets are narrow. On the river side of the city the buildings are large, and many of them are built of brick and covered with slate or plaster; but those on the back of the place are very small, and consist of wood. The former are compact, and the latter scattered. From the Levee to the buildings fronting the river the distance is about seven rods. At the upper part of the city, near the river, is the Custom-House; and at the lower part of it is the Fort and Cantonment. Not far from these is a spacious establishment, which is occupied by an association of Nuns. The Cathedral stands near the centre of the town.

The streets near the Levee are generally crowded with thousands of women, who are employed in vending fruits and goods. There is in this city much female beauty:— fine features, symmetry of form, and elegance of manners; but the virtuous man often perceives in these the fatal testimony of moral aberration. Here the fascinations of accomplished dissipation move in the guise of delicacy, and captivate the youthful heart; but the moralist views their momentary and belittling influence, with the indifference,— not of pride, but of reason, religion, and sentiment. Youths of my country, to conquer ourselves is victory indeed!— to foil temptation in the doubtful field, is imperishable renown!

[232] New-Orleans is situated on the island of Orleans. This island is formed by the Mississippi, the Lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and the river Ibberville. The latter river is an outlet of the Mississippi fifteen or eighteen miles below Baton Rouge. Lake Ponchartrain is about thirty miles long, and nearly the same distance in breadth. Its depth is ten or fifteen feet. Lake Maurepas is about ten miles long, and seven or eight broad.

It may here be observed that the Louisiana purchase was made in 1803. This territory is of immense extent; but its boundaries are doubtful. It would be well for the government to satisfy themselves upon the subject, and to run their lines, and establish their forts without delay. Seasons of public tranquillity are the seasons for such business.

The city of New-Orleans is a place of immense business. In the course of fifty years it will probably be, in a mercantile point of view, second to none in the world. At this place inland and maritime commerce combine their energies. An immense tract of the most productive country in the world, is continually sending its produce, through a thousand channels, to this great mart. Already five or six hundred vessels, some of which are very large, may occasionally be seen lying at the Levee; and upon this embankment are vast piles of produce of every description. Foreign vessels frequently arrive here with from 500,000 to 1,000,000 dollars in specie, for the purpose of purchasing cargoes of sugar, cotton, and tobacco. Perhaps in no place is specie more plenty, or more free in its circulation than at New-Orleans. The banks here sometimes refuse to receive it as a deposit. From the future imports into this city, and the shipping employed here, the General Government will derive an immense revenue. The country above is more and [233] more supplied with foreign goods from New-Orleans, by steam boats and other vessels, instead of receiving them, as formerly, from Baltimore and Philadelphia, by the way of Pittsburg; and from Richmond by the rivers Cumberland and Tennessee.

Vast quantities of provisions of every kind, proceed from the Ohio, the Mississippi, and their tributaries, for the consumption of the people of New-Orleans, for ship stores, and for foreign markets. The immense value and rapid rise of real estate in this place, proves the flourishing condition of its trade. A small lot of land there is almost a fortune; and a large building lets for 3000 dollars per year,—an interest upon 50,000. Within twelve months, real estate there has risen from fifty to seventy-five per cent.

New-Orleans is, no doubt, an unhealthy place; but I believe it is much less so than is generally supposed. Much might be done to improve it in this respect. When the municipal concerns of this city shall be directed by Americans, which will probably be very soon, the place will become less unhealthy and less dissipated than it is. In this case, people who now go thither merely for the purposes of trade, will permanently reside there, and will, of course, be more interested in the destinies of the place. The police of the city is, at present, quite inefficient. Murders here are frequent, and sometimes not enquired into; and the streets are suffered to be very dirty. It may be observed too, that but little respect is paid to the dead at New-Orleans. The burying-ground lies in the heart of the city, is in an exposed situation, and the surface of it is covered with human bones. People here generally go armed, particularly the Spaniards, French, and Portuguese. Owing to the unhealthiness of this place, its principal characters spend the summer months at [234] the Eastward, and in some cases at the Bay of St. Louis, situated about fifty miles from the city.[189] This is said to be a healthy situation. The American population at New-Orleans are hospitable.

The orange groves, and the Levee, at and near this place, and which travellers have glowingly described, by no means equal their representations. Of the latter I have already spoken, and as to the former they are small and unflourishing.

The market, at New-Orleans, is very long and spacious. Near this place are a great many poultry-boats, which are employed in bringing poultry from the plantations in the vicinity. The beef in the market is very inferior. Owing to the climate, or bad management, the cattle, although large and elegant, are poor. All the wealth of New-Orleans could not purchase there a piece of any kind of flesh equal to what is every day seen in the New-England markets. Vegetables are plenty at New-Orleans, but provisions of every kind are here very high. Turkies are from four to six dollars apiece, fowls one dollar each, beef about twenty cents, and butter seventy-five cents per pound. The best boarding here is eighty dollars per month. Some of the hotels are superb establishments. Money is here easily obtained and expended; its circulation is free. Wages are here very high, and labourers in great demand. Indolence characterizes a portion of the people. There are two theatres and a circus at New-Orleans. The principal season for amusement is the winter. In the summer, a very considerable proportion of the population leave the city, and during this period but little business, comparatively, is done.

---

[189] St. Louis Bay at the outlet of Lake Borgne on Mississippi Sound, was explored by Iberville in 1699 and named after Louis IX, the saintly king of France. On it was located one of the early French colonies.— Ed.

I have mentioned the Nunnery at New-Orleans.[181] In entering some of the apartments of this interesting seclusion, I was much less disposed to censure than to venerate the motives of its inmates. Man [235] is a religious being: and he often realizes that this world is not his home. This is particularly the case in seasons of affliction. Here the human mind, sensible of its unworthiness, and of its dependence upon God, seeks the favour of that Being, who only can forgive and render happy. When the affections of man are weaned from the world, he sighs for the purity and peace of heaven. Human society no longer interests him. He wishes well to mankind; but prefers to their society, the seclusions of meditation. Sometimes this is the immediate effect of the spirit of regeneration; and sometimes it proceeds from the loss of some earthly friend, upon whom the heart continually dwelt; and in whom it might be said to move and have its being:— some friend, the remembrance of whose lovely life,— whose almost superhuman aspect, manner, and converse, alienates the affections from earth, and points them, with a pure and tranquil spirit, to an anticipated reunion in a better world.

---

[181] On the Ursuline convent at New Orleans, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 225.— Ed.

Under such circumstances have females, of the most enlightened minds, and purest hearts, received the veil.

There is, probably, in New-Orleans and its vicinity, a population of about 40,000. About a third part of these may be presumed to be slaves. The French here are more numerous than any other distinct class. Among them are many persons, who have lately emigrated from France. Some of these persons are gentlemen of great talents and noble principles. It seems unnatural that they should have left their native country in the hour of her adversity; but, no doubt, their object is to preserve their lives, in this land of liberty, for the service of France when she shall again be true to herself. Colonel L. who was at the fatal battle of Waterloo, is a real Frenchman. He considers Buonaparte a [236] great and good man; but says, that in several instances he acted imprudently. The Colonel almost hates his country for abandoning that great General, who had so long defended France, and who had acquired for her unparalleled fame. France was, indeed, great; and Frenchmen have had much cause for pride. All Europe combined for her subjugation. The coalition of a world was necessary to subdue a single nation, acting under the auspices of the mighty genius of her Emperor. This man, even in his humiliation, is the terror of all Europe; and this terror arises from their sense of his superiority. All Europe are now engaged in legislating upon this wonderful character; whole fleets are employed in guarding him; and vast armies are stationed on the confines of France, to prevent the rise of that spirit which he had created in her bosom. Shame to England! shame to her Continental allies! Why do not these Powers who boast of their strength and their magnanimity, leave this King of men to choose his own residence? He overthrew Monarchs, but he did not trample upon them,—he generously restored them their crowns and their liberty. If England,—if the powers of the continent wish to destroy Buonaparte, why do they not issue, at once, an order for his execution? Why do they disgrace themselves, by the infliction of contemptible privations? Well may this great man say, when deprived of that liberty which is essential to health, "if these proceedings should be fatal to me, I bequeath my death to the reigning house of England."

I am not sensible of any undue partiality for France. I wish, in this world of error, to be a candid spectator of passing events, and, in my humble sphere, to approve of what is great, and to censure what is mean. Many persons cannot bear the name of France, on account of the horrors of her Revolution; [237] but they should reflect, that these excesses were the natural consequence of oppression. The Monarchy of France was corrupt and tyrannical. Her religion was foul, and deceptive. When the light of liberty shone upon the recesses of her pollutions, the people were shocked; and in a paroxism of astonishment, and indignation, declared that the Christian Religion itself was a mere name. Did not England go as far as this? Previous to the Restoration, her Parliament declared the Decalogue to be without authority.

Opposite the City of New-Orleans the river is more than a mile wide. The channel is very deep, and the current rapid. Boats, destined for the city, are sometimes swept down the stream for several miles, before they can make a landing. The inhabitants of the place procure all their water from the Mississippi; but it is generally filtered before using. The boatmen, however, drink it as it is; and some suppose it, in this state, conducive to health. It must not, however, be taken from the eddies.

The numerous stories, which have so often been circulated, and believed, respecting the cruel modes of fighting, prevalent among the boatmen of the west, are, generally speaking, untrue. During the whole of my tour, I did not witness one engagement, or see a single person, who bore those marks of violence which proceed from the inhuman mode of fighting, said to exist in the west, particularly in Kentucky and Tennessee. The society of this part of the world is becoming less savage, and more refined.

The judicial proceedings at New-Orleans are recorded both in the French and English languages; and the juries there consist of men of both nations. In all cases, excepting those of a criminal nature, the Code Napoleon prevails; but in criminal cases, [238] the Common Law is the rule of action. Here genius is not trammelled by the rules of special pleading. The allegations of the parties, if intelligible, have to encounter no quibbles.

The science of special pleading is, no doubt, a science purely logical; and so far the courts of New-Orleans recognize it; but in the New-England states many rules, in relation to this subject, which have no foundation in reason, and which are the vestiges of ancient sophistry, are adhered to, by some of our lawyers, with all the pedantry of ignorance, and the pertinacity of dullness. Many a genius has left the bar of our judicial tribunals, because he would not consent to argue upon rules which had no foundation in common sense, and to quibble upon points, upon which effrontery and nonsense may prevail over modesty and reason.

The lawyers in New-Orleans acquire immense fortunes by their profession; and it may be added, that physicians and surgeons are equally successful. It requires almost a fortune there to fee a lawyer, or to obtain medical advice; and real estate is so valuable, that actions upon land titles often involve several hundred thousand dollars.

In this city, a building is about being erected for a Presbyterian society. Over this congregation, the Rev. Mr. Larned is to be ordained. The eloquence of this gentleman is highly spoken of.

There is, perhaps, no place in the civilized world, where the influence of the gospel is more needed than at New-Orleans. There the light of Revelation exists; but the people walk in moral darkness. The thunder of divine displeasure alone can arouse them from their deep slumber. It may, indeed, be supposed, that they are "dead in trespasses and sins."

Here I may observe, that the success of the gospel [239] depends, *as far as it respects human means*, upon modes of preaching; and these modes should always have a reference to the education and habits of the people. Where there is little or no sense of the obligations of morality, it is truly unwise to expatiate upon abstruse doctrinal points. It is very doubtful whether discussions upon the mysterious parts of scripture are ever useful; and it is certain that such discussions are often productive of contention, discouragement, and unbelief. Although a layman, I would respectfully recommend to some of our clergy, to doubt their own wisdom; to suspect their ability to understand those secret things which belong unto God; and to take with them the following words of the son of Sirach:—"Seek not out the things which are too hard for thee, neither search the things which are above thy strength; but what is *commanded*, think thou upon with *reverence.*"

The love of money in New-Orleans is conspicuous; and the vast sums, which may there be accumulated, render keen the spirit of avarice. This spirit is too prevalent throughout the United States, and much fraud is the consequence of it. It is truly disgusting to hear people continually inquiring respecting this and that man's property; as though property was the only subject worthy of remark, and the only test of merit.

The love of wealth in this country is making rapid inroads upon the love of principle; and nothing can retard its progress but the exclusive patronage of virtue and talents.

These two last terms constitute true taste; and this should be the only distinction in society. The distinction of wealth is odious; and that of birth is nonsensical. Neither is learning the *exclusive* test of merit. High talents may exist without much learning, [240] and can easily overthrow the tinsel of the schools. Integrity, noble principles, polished sentiments, and a becoming deportment, constitute the real gentleman; and such a man, whether he originated in a palace, or in a straw-built shed, is an ornament to society, and an honour to any company.

There are, no doubt, public and private advantages in wealth. As a motive, it enlists the passions in behalf of science, industry, and commercial enterprise; but no man is justified in desiring a great estate, excepting for the purpose of aiding private charity, and institutions which have in view the welfare of mankind. Gold and silver are of consequence to a state, both as a circulating medium, and as a means of dividing property, and distributing it to those, whose gains are small, and whose pecuniary independence is important both to them and to the community; but those who regard this shining dross more than justice and prudence warrant, ought to be despised. Compared with the vast estates frequently accumulated for selfish purposes, mankind want but little. Artificial views incur unnecessary expenses, and fraud is frequently made to cater for their discharge.

It may be supposed that I ought, ere this stage in my tour, to have mentioned some particular, relative to the prevailing manners and customs of the people situated in those parts of the country through which I passed. But my course did not lead me through many settled places, and I met with no peculiarities, in relation to this subject, worthy of remark. Indeed, the Yankees are so scattered over the whole country, and their influence in society is generally so considerable, that their habits and modes of living are, in a greater or less degree, imitated every where. These observations apply particularly to that part of the country west of the Ohio. At [241] New-Orleans, the population being principally French, the manners and customs of the place are, generally speaking, peculiar to them.

Upon my arrival at New-Orleans, and in looking back upon my course, I could not but be forcibly impressed with the wonderful wealth and physical force of the United States. In comparing the present situation of the country with what it was when first discovered by Europeans, the mind is astonished; and in dwelling upon its probable increase, in the course of one hundred years, numbers fail, and calculation becomes alarmed. Here too, the hand of Providence is visible in the discovery and settlement of the country; in the protection of the infant colonies of our forefathers, and in the great events of our history to the present time. With reference to these ideas, the thoughts of the Psalmist interestingly apply:—"Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance." And again: "When there were but a few men in number, yea, very few, and strangers in it; He suffered no man to do them wrong! — He reproved *kings* for their sakes."

Any comparison, which I may make between the country situated on the Mississippi, and the New-England States, will, perhaps, be partial. That I prefer the latter, in every point of view, will be readily accounted for. It may appear strange, however, that my principal objection to the former, is the productive capacity of its soil. Both in a moral and political point of view, this is a serious evil. Industry is indispensable to the health of the mental and physical nature of man; and also to the preservation of his virtue. On the Mississippi, plenty may be obtained by a very small degree of labour. An additional exertion produces wealth; and indolence, luxury, and dissipation are, in this [242] part of the United States, its general consequences. This is too, in a measure, the case with all the western country. There are many other objections; but they are too numerous to mention. The country on the Mississippi is not a grazing country. The hills of New-England feed, on the contrary, the finest cattle, furnish the most delightful prospects, and produce the hardiest plants of freedom. New-England too, is a peculiarly happy country with respect to religion, morals, education, and health. Here industry gives a zest to the ordinary enjoyments of life, strengthens the mind for the acquisition of knowledge, prepares the heart for the defence of principle, and nerves the physical man for the maintenance of national right.

I might now consider my *pedestrious* tour as finished; but it may not be amiss to continue my narrative to the time of my arrival in New-Hampshire. As this, however, will be rather an unproductive field, I must introduce, in my course, some brief reflections upon foreign topics.

About the first of July I sailed from New-Orleans for Boston. The course of a vessel from and to these places is circuitous, and nearly as long as that of a voyage across the Atlantic. The distance is about 2,500 miles.

Having hauled off from the Levee into the current, we beat down the river with a light breeze; at length took in our top-gallant-sails, moved briskly about thirty miles, and moored along the bank for the night. I had previously been below the city, about seven leagues, for the purpose of visiting General Wilkinson. In the General's library I met with many rare and interesting works. During this excursion I viewed the celebrated battle-ground, five miles below New-Orleans.[180] The Americans were fortified, having a marsh in front, the river on [243] the right, an impervious wood on the left, and the resources of the city in the rear:—an admirable position! The enemy displayed the most desperate courage in attacking the Americans thus situated. British glory never shone brighter than upon this occasion; and British troops never experienced a greater overthrow.

Below New-Orleans snakes, lizards, and alligators are numerous; and the bees and grasshoppers are very large. Here one almost supposes himself in the West-Indies. Cotton does not flourish well so low down as General Wilkinson's plantation; but sugar-cane is here remarkably productive. The craw-fish, which naturalists say is a fresh water lobster, here passes under the banks of the Mississippi to a considerable distance, and comes up through the earth into the fields. This circumstance proves that the land in this part of the country is afloat, and also that this species of animated nature is amphibious. It is exceedingly interesting to notice the economy of nature in her transitions from the vegetable to the animal world; and in some measure, from the mere animal to human existence. With respect to the former we may inquire whether the oyster and sponge are animals or vegetables? The oyster is rooted to the earth like a plant, and yet it feeds upon animals. The dexterity which it displays in closing its shells upon those worms, which are so unfortunate as to creep into them, is worthy of remark. There are two amphibious plants as well as amphibious animals. The flag is considered an aquatic; but it flourishes best between land and water. An amphibious fish, such as the craw-fish appears to be, is a new link in the chain of existences.

---

[180] For a brief biography of General Wilkinson, see Cuming's *Tour*, note 160. The site of the battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815) is five miles below the city.— Ed.

About eighteen miles below New-Orleans is the English Turn.[163] This is a bend in the river, which [244] is thus called, because the English ships, in their first attempt upon the city, were obliged to return. Twenty-five miles below the Turn is Fort Plaquemine.[164] This fort is on the left side of the river, and makes a very elegant appearance. Not far from this place, the country immediately becomes very low; trees soon disappear; and the river flows over both its banks, watering immense marshes, covered with flags and high grass.

---

[163] Bienville, colonial governor of Louisiana, returning from an exploring trip (1699), met an English vessel of sixteen guns, about eighteen miles below the site of New Orleans. The captain stated he was looking for a location for an English colony, and Bienville assured him that the Mississippi was already occupied by the French. Much to the latter's surprise, the vessel sailed away. From this episode the English Bend received its name, not, as Evans implies, from the attacking fleet of 1815.— ED.

[164] Plaquemine Turn is thirty miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. It was fortified by the French in 1746.— ED.

Two days after leaving New-Orleans for the eastward, we passed the above mentioned fort, and towards evening, anchored near the shore. Here the prospect from the top gallant-masts of the vessel was gloomy. In the course of the evening, a black and ragged little schooner floated by us; and she proved to be the vessel, from the fore-yard of which the Indian Chief Hemattlemico, and the Indian Prophet Francis were hung, by order of General Jackson.[188]—

"Oh! what doth that vessel of darkness bear!
The silent calm of the grave is there:—
Save now,—— and again, a death knell rung;
And the flap of her sails, with night fog hung."

The late conduct of General Jackson has excited much interest, both in Europe and America. Some advocate his proceedings, and like himself, seem determined to brave the tempest which is ready to overwhelm him. That is a dear and glorious cause, which involves moral strength and physical weakness; and I should rejoice in enlisting under the banners of a virtuous man, when unjustly assailed by popular prejudice, and popular indignation. But General Jackson has violated the principles of humanity, and tarnished the glory of the nation. Whatever may be the services of our public men they must be taught that they are the servants of the [245] people, and at all times officially accountable to them. No one is disposed to deny that General Jackson has done much for the United States; but this is only one side of the subject: Julius Cesar was a celebrated general, and achieved great victories for Rome; but Julius Cesar became a tyrant.

---

[188] When, during the Seminole War, Jackson took possession of St. Marks, the Indian prophet Francis or Hellis Hajo, and the chief Hemollemico, were lured on board an American vessel (April 6, 1818) and hung by Jackson's orders. These Indians had led the attack, the previous November, upon a boat under command of Lieutenant Scott, which was ascending the Appalachicola River. Having been forced to surrender, all survivors were tortured to death. Jackson's act was in retaliation for this outrage.— Ed.

I do not pretend to know what were the motives of General Jackson in putting to death the above mentioned Indians, who, it appears, had been decoyed into the custody of his officers, and were prisoners of war; but we have reason to believe that they were bad motives. Conscious of his high military reputation, the native ferocity of his disposition, cloaking itself under the garb of energy, burst upon these poor, ignorant savages, who, being prisoners of war, were perfectly harmless. And why was this? because they refused to answer a question which he put for the purpose of entrapping them.— *The very essence of tyranny!*

Neither General Jackson, nor the government had any more right to take the lives of these Indians, than the British, *even setting aside the idea of rebellion*, would have had to execute General Washington, had he, during the Revolutionary war, been taken prisoner. The Indians, engaged in the Seminole war, were at issue with the United States. The parties were equally independent,— their rights were equal. The law of nature is the original source of all national right, and Indian tribes are in a state of nature.

General Jackson's conduct upon this occasion is a disgrace to the country. The act was as unmanly as it was inhuman. It may be said by ignorance, affectation, and prejudice, that Indians sometimes destroy our men when taken prisoners. What! shall we abandon the precepts of religion, the principles of humanity, and the polish of civilization, to [246] learn manners and customs in the ferocious schools of savage life? The displeasure of the

American people alone can remove from themselves the disgrace, with which such conduct on the part of a public servant naturally clothes them.

As to the course which General Jackson took, relative to the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, it was entirely inconsistent with that dispassionate investigation which ought ever to characterize the American Government.[189] Admitting, for the sake of argument, that this course is sanctioned by the law of nations, is this law our *only* guide? And is this law perfect? — It is the work of man,— the work of those civilians, whose dust has long since been scattered by the winds! It is, too, the common law of independent communities. But what are they? Precisely what their courts are made of: — tyranny, intrigue, and dissipation. Oh! there is a higher rule of action than the law of nations. Our conduct should be regulated by those great and pure principles, which will stand the test of reason and conscience, both on earth and in heaven.

Why is General Jackson so fond of blood? Why so disposed to crush every forsaken individual, whom the fortune of war places in his hands? Is this *moral* energy? — or is it a barbarous animal impulse? With the modesty of a *true* soldier, General Jackson should have transferred to the Government his prisoners and his trophies. Time might have thrown some light upon the subject of the persons executed; and they might, at some future period, have had a fairer trial. There is reason to believe, that both General Jackson and the Court Martial were prejudiced against the prisoners. As these persons were supposed to have been the instigators of the war — a war which was, at first, so lamely [247] maintained on our part — a war which resulted in the death of some of our people, it was natural for General Jackson, and the persons composing the Court Martial, to entertain hostile feelings towards the accused. And shall prejudice and hostility be the triors in a case of life and death? This transaction too, is a disgrace to the country; and although, as Mr. Secretary Adams says, General Jackson will not, in relation to it, incur the censure of the Government, those of the people who wish to see their country exemplary in every thing, will endeavour, by condemning the act, to shield that country from reproach.

---

[189] During Jackson's expedition against the Seminoles, two Indian traders were also captured — Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister. Both were put to death after the form of a trial, on the charge of being guilty of inciting the Seminole Indians to war against the United States. The latter was shot and the former hung from the yardarm of his vessel, April 29, 1818, at St. Marks, Florida. The execution raised a storm; Henry Clay, on the floor of the House, the following year, during the famous twelve-day debate on Jackson's Seminole War conduct, declared that if Jackson were voted the public thanks, it would be a triumph of insubordination of military over civil authorities. The long feud between Jackson and Clay began with that speech.— Ed.

Mr. Adams' letter to our Minister at the Court of Spain, relative to this subject, does the nation injustice; and it is surprising that it should be so much eulogized.[167] I am disposed to entertain a high opinion of the talents and patriotism of Mr. Adams; but his communication is undignified. It evinces spirit, but it is the ephemeral spirit of political paragraphists. Why does this great man condescend to flourish about "M'Gregor's mock-patriots, and Nicholls' negroes?" To say nothing respecting the *ostentatious threats*, which the communication contains, its pinks and posies but illy become the silvered brow of a diplomatic veteran. To threaten is the peculiar privilege of little minds. To warn with gravity, and to act with decision, become the United States in her negociations with Spain.

---

[167] Adams made his strongest defense of Jackson in his letter to Don José Pizarro, Spanish secretary of state. He reviewed the whole situation, and accused the Spanish and Indian traders in Florida of stirring up the Indians, referring to Arbuthnot as "that British Indian trader from beyond the sea, the firebrand by whose touch the Negro-Indian war against our borders has been rekindled." — Ed.

Admitting, as I have said, that the proceeding, relative to Arbuthnot and Ambrister, is warranted by the law of nations, yet as this law, as far as it respects the present question, is unjust and unreasonable; and as it also is grounded upon principles which, relative to expatriation, we have ever contested, both duty and policy dictate our decided opposition to it. It is a rule which originated in the [248] despotic courts of Europe; and one which Freedom detests. May not an individual expatriate himself? And if so, may he not become a citizen or subject in a foreign country? He may become a member of a savage as well as of a civilized community. And by acquiring the right of citizenship under a foreign government, an individual may attain to the distinction of a leader. By being a citizen he becomes interested in the destinies of the state, and is bound to defend its rights.

If Arbuthnot and Ambrister expatriated themselves, and united their fortunes with those of the Indians, they were, upon every view of the subject, mere prisoners of war; and as such should have been treated. By taking it for granted that they had not expatriated themselves, we act upon the ground that there can be no such principle as expatriation, and thereby do injustice to the cause of liberty, and expose our own citizens to terrible inflictions from those tyrannical governments, who advocate this side of the question.

As to General Jackson entering the territory of Spain, and taking possession of Spanish posts, it was illegal, because unnecessary; and highly improper, because not authorized by the government. The Indians were dispersed; and an immediate renewal of the war on their part was not apprehended. So far this proceeding was without a legitimate object. And if the Spanish government were to blame in relation to this war, the United States, and not General Jackson, *who was a mere servant of the people, acting under limited orders*, were to decide as to the course to be pursued.

The day after leaving Fort Plaquemine we arrived at the Balize.[168] There are here the remains of an old Spanish fort, and three or four miserable dwelling-houses. The latter are occupied by pilots. The [249] place presents a most wretched aspect, being scarcely above the water, and covered with flags and reptiles. About three miles below this situation are the principal passes into the Gulf of Mexico. The water of the Mississippi, when the river is high, rushes with such force through these passes, that fresh water may be obtained several miles from the land. Old passes are frequently filled, and new ones made, by the rapid descent of the water of the river during the seasons of its rise. The coast, viewed from the Balize, presents, as far as the eye can reach, a broken and desolate aspect, reminding one of the destruction of the Antedeluvian world.

After waiting one or two days for a wind, we received a pilot, sailed through the north-east pass, and with a light breeze nearly ahead, moved slowly in a south-south-east course. We left quite a fleet of vessels at the pilot-ground, and there were, at this time, several large ships beating into the Balize. The north-east pass is not more than eight rods wide; and on both sides of it are low banks of mud. There are several other passes, which are taken by the pilots according to the wind and the draught of the vessel.

---

[168] The Balise was in early times the best and deepest pass into the Mississippi River. Now known as Southwest Pass, it is not used, there being hardly six feet of water on the bar. It was fortified by Bienville about 1720.— Ed.

For many days we experienced light winds on our larboard bow; our progress, of course, was inconsiderable. For many days too, previous to our making the islands of Tortugas, and even after reaching the island of Cuba, our progress was completely retarded by calms and light head winds. Being in the calm latitudes at this season of the year is very unpleasant. An almost vertical sun pours his rays upon the deck, and produces an insufferable heat.

During this state of things, I may look back, for a moment, to New-Orleans. No place in the world furnishes a greater field for speculation upon physiognomy, and for reflection upon national characteristics, [250] than this city. The former is a science too much neglected. A knowledge of human nature is of consequence to all; and particularly so to the philosopher, and man of business. The human countenance is the index of the human heart. But little dependance, however, can be placed upon those rules, which relate *altogether* to the lines of the human face. In relation to this subject men of penetration, who have acquired a habit of forming an opinion upon every stranger who presents himself, experiences, upon these occasions, a kind of inspiration, which seldom errs. This effect is not surprising, because the human countenance always expresses, both morally and physically, the ruling passions of the heart; and practice, in all sciences and arts, produces wonderful proficiency.

With respect to national characteristics, I fear that I cannot be impartial without giving offence. But the truth is as much against myself as any other person. I speak only of *national* characteristics; of course the opinion is general, and there may be *individual* exceptions. Besides, as to individuals, transplanting sometimes improves the original stock. This, I apprehend, is particularly the case with the English in America. My partiality, perhaps, begins to display itself. How natural is it for one to think well of his own country! Yet truth should be more dear to a man than his native land. The Americans are a mixed people; but the institutions of the country direct their affections to one common centre. They are, therefore, one people; and their principles and feelings comport with our noble systems of polity. All nations have their faults; but I think the Americans possess the greatest virtues and the fewest imperfections. I need not occupy much ground upon this subject. The most prominent nations are the best tests of national characteristics. [251] Small communities are almost innumerable; and they, generally, partake, more or less, of the dispositions of long established, and mighty sovereignties. I confine my views to the English, Irish, French, and American nations. The Irish are intelligent, hospitable, and courageous; but they are credulous, resentful, and violent in all their affections:— great virtues, and great vices characterize them. The English are sensible, generous, and brave; but they are supercilious, overbearing, and vain glorious. The French are perspicacious, enthusiastic, and intrepid; but they are fickle, vain, and, in prosperity, impertinent. The Americans seem to be a people distinct from every other.— They possess all the good qualities of the English, and they are real gentlemen in the bargain.

I now return again to the Gulf of Mexico. Here we frequently experienced heavy squalls, accompanied by severe thunder and lightning. In one instance several of our men were stricken by the latter. The squalls generally commenced at day break. Such a scene as they produce is truly sublime. Here man feels, that however small may be his merit, his nature is noble. In the midst of an apparently shoreless ocean, his little bark, tossed by the winds and waves, he is sensible of the grandeur of his temerity, and prides himself in the efficacy of his skill. It is not surprising that sailors are generous. A little mind could not exist upon the deep. Its mighty influences will either enlarge or petrify the heart:— raise the noble soul, or drive the narrow spirit into the cock-boats, and creeks of the interior. The rough manners too, of the children of the sea are perfectly natural:— they have long conversed with winds and waves.

Whilst in the Gulf of Mexico, we caught a great many dolphins; and sharks frequently came around [252] our vessel. Several times, about a dozen of these voracious creatures presented themselves. Our mate caught one of them, and it measured ten feet in length. The pilot-fish, which attends the shark, is only a few inches long; and like the jackall, accompanying the lion, seems to cater for prey, and to partake of the spoil. The sucker-fish, frequently found on the shark, is worthy of notice. It is very small, and its colour is black. Its gills are on the top of the head, instead of being in the usual place; and the sucker itself is under the head, and has the appearance of the bars of a gridiron. Its capacity to adhere to any thing, by suction, is great. Nature seems so fond of variety, and her modes of existence appear to be so infinite, that there is much reason to deny the existence of a vacuum. The flying-fish is remarkable, for its uniting the aspect of the fish with the principal capacity of the bird. The dolphin is the implacable enemy of this fish; nature has, therefore, given it the power to fly. Whilst at sea, I witnessed an interesting chase between these two species of fish. When the dolphin, the speed of which is very great, overtakes the flying-fish, the latter rises out of the water, and descends at a considerable distance; but the dolphin, swimming on the surface, often sees its prey alight, and speedily overtakes it. The dolphin furnishes an excellent model for ship building.

Sixteen days after leaving the Balize we discovered land from the top-gallant-mast-head; and it proved to be the principal island of Tortugas. After running up within three leagues of it, we bore away, and made the island of Cuba. This is the largest of the West-India islands. Its length is about seven hundred miles; and the face of the country is mountainous. In coasting along this island we came within a league of the Moro Castle, which, together [253] with several Forts, protect the city of Havana. On all the works are mounted about one thousand cannon. The Havana is a great commercial place. It is the usual station of the principal maratime force of Spanish America, and the place of rendezvous for the vessels from the Colonies, on their homeward voyage. It is too, a place of immense wealth, and its population amounts, probably, to 80,000.

Whilst coasting along the Island of Cuba, and particularly during the evening of our arrival off the Havana, we experienced high winds. In one instance the aspect of every thing around us was black, windy, and wild; and we found it necessary to lower our topsails, and take two reefs in our mainsail. At this time there were several ships in sight; and each laboured, in darkness, her boisterous course.

The next day a land bird, of the heron species, having been driven from the coast by the late gale, sought an asylum on board of our vessel. For hours, she wandered, like the Antedeluvian dove, and found no rest for her feet.

It was interestingly painful to see the exhausted bird winging her tedious way along the surface of the deep; and it spake of the hopeless spirit,— a wanderer over the fields of its own desolation.

After passing Port Matansas, we doubled Cape Florida, entered the Gulf of this name, and came in sight of the Keys, and of the principal island of Bahama. Here the Gulf stream quickened our progress about three knots per hour. The waters of this stream, influenced by the trade winds and other causes, flow through the Caribbean islands, and enter the Mexican Gulf between Cuba and the Promontory of Yucatan. Compressed by the surrounding coasts, it pursues its course between East Florida and the Bahama Islands, and runs along the coast of North America to the Banks of Newfoundland. From thence, it passes through the Azores [254] to the south, and gradually mingles its waters with those of the ocean. Some suppose, that this impetus is preserved until the water strikes that part of the Equator from whence it commenced its course. It is probable that the trade winds operate, at first, with great violence; because, owing to the centrifugal force of the water, occasioned by the diurnal motion of the earth around its axis, the sea is elevated at the Equator, much more than at the poles.

The nearest distance of the Gulf Stream from the United States is about seventy-five miles; and its breadth is about forty miles. Such is the rapidity of this stream, that it retains a considerable degree of its tropical heat, even after reaching its most easterly point of destination. The colour of the water of the Gulf is dark, and its depth very great. This latter circumstance is, probably, occasioned by the force of the current at the bottom, and by its curvilineal form on the surface. It may be presumed, that in the *vicinity* of the Gulf the progress of vessels, bound to the north is retarded. Some portion of the Gulf water will, by being propelled faster than that which precedes it, fly from the centre, and rebound so as to produce a counter current.

When opposite Cape Canaveral, in latitude 49, we experienced a high wind on our larboard quarter. Here we lowered our topsail, and took two reefs in our fore and main-sail. At this time there was a large English ship under our starboard bow. The next day the weather again became variable, and we experienced another squall.

As nothing worthy of remark occurred for a day or two from this period, I again suppose myself in New-Orleans, for the purpose of noticing some of the languages spoken there.

The French is the principal language spoken in this city; and it is of consequence for an American to become acquainted with it, not only because it [255] introduces him to many valuable French authors, whose genius is peculiar and interesting, but because it is the language most generally spoken throughout Europe.

The Spanish language is also much spoken in New-Orleans. This language resembles the Latin; but is inferior to it. The Emperor Charles the fifth, however, entertained a different opinion. He observed, that he would speak to his horse in German; converse in French; make love in Italian; and pray in Spanish. His partiality was very natural. He thought the latter most precise and comprehensive. The Portuguese language also is often heard in New-Orleans; and it is very much like the Spanish.

The Greek language, although so long dead, is, no doubt, the best of the known languages of the world. The Latin is nearly as good; and the English is probably not inferior to any of the others. But all languages, *abstractedly considered*, are poor:—poor as to the precision of thought, the expression of sentiment, and the harmony of diction.

The usual manner of acquiring a knowledge of foreign languages, is both unnatural and tedious. Foreign languages should be acquired precisely as we learn our native tongue. In becoming acquainted with our own language, we acquire a knowledge of language in the abstract; and this knowledge applies to all foreign languages. There must, for example, be in every language a name attached to a thing, and also a mode of conveying an idea of the qualities of that thing. The particular meaning of a word, the manner of its pronunciation, the combinations of the several necessary parts of speech, and other peculiarities of language, depend upon compact; — upon the common consent of each distinct people. Hence the great diversity of languages.

[256] To become what is generally understood by the phrase a linguist, it is necessary to possess only a common understanding, accompanied by a good memory and by application; but to become a real philological scholar requires genius.

I now return to the vessel, and find her in the latitude of Cape Fear. Here we experienced a very heavy squall, took in several of our sails, lowered our main peak, and scud. The scene was highly interesting. At this time a little black schooner from Bassatere hurried by us, like the messenger of death, and our captain hailed her, through night. The sea laboured in wrath, and the moon, partially covered by a cloud, looked at the storm askance.

The next day the weather was calm, and for several succeeding evenings delightful. During these, there were many vessels in sight, and we spoke the brig Commerce.

From Cape Hatteras to the latitude of 40, we experienced very favourable winds; and during most of the time progressed at the rate of ten knots per hour. I now considered my course nearly finished; and it was natural for me to reflect upon the voyage of *human life.* The ocean is, in many respects, a true emblem of man's probationary state.— Its rolling waves resemble successive generations; its storms and calms remind him of human vicissitudes; the rocks of its coasts speak of the stability of virtue; and its havens direct the thoughts to the security and peace of a better world.

After a passage of thirty days, I arrived at Boston, immediately proceeded to New-Hampshire, and there found my friends in the enjoyment of that protection, which results from the wisdom of our laws, when aided by the approbation of a virtuous community.

THE END